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PHILEMON

TO

HYDASPES;

RELATING

A Fourth CONVERSATION with HORTENSIUS, upon the Subject of *Falſe Religion.*

IN WHICH

A farther GENERAL ACCOUNT is endeavoured to be given of the Riſe and Conſtitution of *Falſe Theory* in Religion in the *Earlier* Pagan World.

Αλλους δ' εκ τουτων επιγειους γενεσθαι φασιν (Αιγυπτιοι) υπαρξαντας μεν θνητους, δια δε συνεσιν, και κοινην Ανθρωπων ευεργεσιαν, τετυχοτας της αθανασιας. Diod. Sic. Bib. Lib. 1. p. 12. Ed. Rhod.

LONDON:

Printed for M. STEEN, in the *Inner-Temple-Lane.*

M.DCC.XLI.

BRITISH MUSEUM

The Reader is desired to correct the following *Mistakes*.

PAGE 9. in the Note, l. 4. for Βιβλιοις, read Βυβλιοις. P. 26. in the Note, l. 11. after προσοφλουντες, instead of a full Point read with a Comma, and read the next Line as a Verse, ending it with απεπλαν. P. 30. in the Notes, l. 2. for γινομενα, read εγγινομενα--and in l. 32. for αναλευειν, read αναλυειν, and in l. 33. for κλησιαδας, read κλισιαδας. P. 42. l. 17. for *the Egyptians*, read *the earlier Egyptians*. In the last line of the Notes, p. 44. for ὑγεια, read ὑγειαν, and in the next line, for ευρετην, read ευρετιν. P. 46. in the Notes, l. 13. for συν επιθεμενων, read συνεπιθεμενων. In the Note, p. 71. for *parta*, read *partu*. In Note, p. 78. l. 2. for ρητηον, read ρητεον. In the Notes, p. 84. l. 6. for επεσταμμενην, read επεστραμμενην. P. 86. l. 2. for *keeps*, read *keep*.

PHILEMON
TO
HYDASPES.
&c.

THERE is not, I have often thought, *Hydaſpes*, a more effectual Preſervative againſt the *Pride* of Learning, than to reflect a little on the *Materials* of which a great part of it conſiſts. What, for example, is the whole Science of more ancient Hiſtory, even in the moſt favourable View of it, but tracing back Human Nature to its State of Infancy, and greateſt Imperfection? and converſing with it in ſuch low and childiſh Particulars, as can alone

receive a Merit from being conſidered as the firſt weak Eſſays of Improvement, the Principles of higher Attainments, and the Introduction to a better and more intereſting Scene of Affairs? For thus it is, *Hydaſpes*, we muſt undoubtedly bring ourſelves to conceive of primitive Antiquity, or we ſhall never arrive at any uſeful Acquaintance with it. Modern Notions are the ſame abſurd Comment upon the Sentiments and Practices of the firſt Ages of Mankind, that the correct Judgments of our advanc'd Life would be upon the raw Apprehenſions of our Childhood. And yet, ridiculous as ſuch a Procedure may appear, it has the Credit at leaſt of Numbers on its Party. For, whether it be, that the Reverence Men are uſually taught to pay to Antiquity, really blinds their Judgment of it; or that we are all of us too much intereſted in the Portraiture of our Kind, not to prefer at all times a flattering, to a real Likeneſs; or whether after all the mere Prejudice of Cuſtom, and the Difficulty there experimentally is in exchanging Habits of manly, for thoſe of childiſh Thinking, is itſelf a ſufficient Solution of the Point; the Fact however is too notorious: "That in no Subject has Truth ſuf-
"fer'd more by an over-fond Mixture of
"Imbelliſhment, than in that of Primitive
"Hiſtory." Writers, the moſt cold and unenter-

unenterpriſing in other matters, have here for the moſt part aſſumed the Sprightlineſs of Romance; and made a general Sacrifice of Certainty to Fiction, Credibility to Ornament. How much this complimenting Antiquity into Attainments it certainly had not, tends to perplex the Diſcovery of thoſe it really had, there needs but little Reflection to conceive. Total Darkneſs being, I had almoſt ſaid, a *ſafer* Guide, than a falſe Light, as the one at worſt but leaves us in Ignorance, the other neceſſarily leads us into Error. A wide Field, *Hydaſpes*, where is ſcarce any end of wandering! Witneſs the numberleſs contradictory Syſtems of Pagan Superſtition, that ſwell ſo many labour'd Volumes in the learned World; of which 'tis hard to determine, whether they have more embarraſs'd themſelves, each other, or the Cauſe in general. Out of whoſe multiplied and various Intricacies however, I know of no Clue which will ſo commodiouſly lead our Thoughts, as the Application of that lowering Regimen above mentioned. A Remedy perhaps, like many others, therefore only ſo generally overlooked or neglected, becauſe it is indeed the moſt eaſy, natural, and obvious one. For, amidſt all the Pains that have been taken to perplex this Subject under colour of refining it, the native Meanneſs of its Original is yet too viſible to an unpreju-

dic'd Eye, to ſuffer one to doubt its being indeed the Product of Ages, whoſe Acquirements may better excite our Compaſſion, than our Envy. A Point, *Hydaſpes*, you will, I dare ſay, think ſufficiently eſtabliſhed, when you ſhall have peruſed the Recital I am going to preſent you with, of the Continuation of *Hortenſius*'s Diſcourſe to me of the Genius and Conſtitution of *falſe Theory* in Religion in the earlier Pagan World.

PART II.

YOU will ſuppoſe us met, *Hydaſpes*, and uninterrupted, as in my laſt Report: when *Hortenſius*, knowing the Biaſs of my Inclinations this way, thus voluntarily reſumed the Subject of our Inquiry.—We had, (ſaid he to me) I think, pretty well gone through the Head of the *natural* Theology of the Antients; * and were next to examine a little into the Grounds and Conſtitution of their *Symbolic*, and *Heroic* Worſhip. But before we go any farther, *Philemon*, I have a previous Point or two to mention to you, which has ſince our laſt

* See a Pamphlet intitled, *Philemon* to *Hydaſpes*, &c. Part III.

laſt Conference occaſionally ſtruck me in my private Thoughts upon this Subject. One is, to give you a Caution in regard to that part of our Inquiry which is paſt; the other, to propoſe an Amendment or Alteration of Method, which I have recollected with myſelf to be neceſſary, in what is yet to come. For the former, *Philemon*, be pleaſed then to obſerve, that, though under the Head of the *phyſical* or *natural* Theology of ancient Paganiſm, I choſe, as well for Clearneſs as Diſpatch, to throw all the ſeveral more diſtinguiſhed Articles of it into one general View, as Parts of an intire Syſtem; yet it was by no means my Intention to repreſent them to you as being all of equal, or nearly equal, Antiquity with one another; or to have you imagine, that many of them were not even of a later Date in Hiſtory, than ſome parts both of the *Symbolic* and *Heroic* Worſhip: however theſe, as you have heard, are ranked laſt in the general Diviſion of our Subject.

I AM oblig'd to you (ſaid I) *Hortenſius*, for your Care to prevent Miſtakes; though I muſt at the ſame time think your Caution here rather ſcrupulous, than neceſſary. Every one muſt be aware, that ſuch a Theology as you deſcribed could only be the Work of Time, and ſucceſſive Improvement. Common Senſe teaches one, that

that Syſtems, as the Proverb tells us of Cities, are not built in a Day. All I underſtood you to mean was, that ſuch, as you repreſented it, was, ſooner or later, the *natural* Worſhip of Paganiſm; your Point being all along to mark out the ſeveral more diſtinguiſhed Stages of its Progreſs, not to ſettle the exact Chronologic Periods of it.

I AM glad (return'd he) *Philemon*, to find you are ſo fully poſſeſt of my Meaning; which I muſt attribute, however, more to your good Judgment in the Caſe, than to my own Accuracy. But though my Caution, as I perceive, was needleſs, the Amendment I have to propoſe in our Scheme of future Inquiry is, I am ſure, a very neceſſary one. Which, in few words, *Philemon*, is this: That, in reverſe of the Order hitherto aſſigned to the two remaining Articles of our Reſearch, we firſt take into Conſideration the *Heroic* Worſhip of the *Egyptians*, and then proceed to their *Symbolic*. For this, upon better Reflection, I find to be the real, hiſtoric Order of them. Their *Symbols*, as will appear in its Place, upon the united Evidence of Fact and Reaſon, owe the whole of their prepoſterous Divinity to that of their *Heroes*; nor would ever probably have been taken into the number of the Gods, but upon the preeſtabliſh'd Apotheoſis of certain Deities of Human

Human Kind. An Hypotheſis, which, beſides the Merit of being founded in Hiſtoric Truth, has moreover the additional Recommendation of promiſing us a more natural Account of the Riſe and Progreſs of the famed *Hieroglyphic*-Science of *Egypt* in general, and of that very remarkable Conſequence hereof, its Brute-Worſhip in particular, than any of thoſe ſo differently refined Hypotheſes in the Point, which with an equally greater ſhew of Subtilty, and leſs Juſtneſs of Information, have been generally offered to the World in its ſtead.

You are doubtleſs, (interpos'd I) *Hortenſius*, the beſt Judge of the Propriety of your own Method; and have ſo much a more comprehenſive Knowledge of our preſent Subject than I can pretend to, that I ſhould have no Objection to hearing you in any way you might chooſe, even tho' I could not enter into the particular Reaſons of it. But in the Caſe now before us I can very evidently diſcern thus much at leaſt, that one well-atteſted Fact in Antiquity is worth a Volume of plauſible Conjectures about it. I am moreover in general, you know, no great Lover of Refinement; and rather, it may be, too apt to ſuſpect Deluſion, where I meet with over-much Subtilty. But more eſpecially and intirely am I for baniſhing it in Queſtions

ſtions of more ancient Hiſtory; where indeed it carries its Confutation in its own Face; and has too ſtrong Marks of Time, and of ſucceſſive Induſtry, as well as Acquiſition, upon it, to be admitted with any tolerable Grace and Probability.

FROM the Worſhip then, (reſumed *Hortenſius*) of the more illuſtrious Parts of *Nature*, let us proceed in the Hiſtory of Pagan Apotheoſis to that of *Heroes*. A Title, *Philemon*, of which I am afraid, we muſt not a little humble the uſual Loftineſs of our modern Conceptions, or we ſhall greatly exceed the true antique Standard and Quality of it. The very Sound of Heroiſm to moſt Ears carries in it ſomething great and venerable; and, if it does not immediately hurry our Thoughts into all the fond Extravagancies of *Romance*, at leaſt engages them in ſome of the more *ſhining* Periods of Hiſtory. The Founders of improved Policy; the great Maſters of Arts, or Arms; the triumphant Invaders of foreign Liberties; or the more enviable Guardians, or Reſtorers of their own national ones; theſe are ſome of thoſe glittering Images which in our advanc'd Days generally form the Character of an Hero. Hardly indeed ſhall we be brought to enter into ſo diſparaging an Idea of it, as yet Antiquity aſſures us to have been the true original one: in which

which the Occupation of an ordinary Huſbandman, Thatcher, Huntſman *, or Mechanic of the moſt ſordid Claſs; a mere common Blackſmith, as *Lucian* has it, "paſſing "all his Days amidſt Sparks and Smoke †," was a ſufficient Recommendation to Heroiſm in his Life-time, and to Deification afterwards. For this, *Philemon*, was the general Practice of the ruder and more barbarous Ages; that, in the eagerneſs of a too forward Gratitude to thoſe firſt Benefactors to their Kind, who had in any Degree contributed to the better Accommodation of Life, they no ſooner ſaw them remov'd by Death from the Society and Commerce of Men, but they exalted them to that of

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* Απο τουτων εγενοντο ἑτεροι, ὡν ὁ μεν Αγρος εκαλεῖτο, ὁ δε Αγρουηρὸς ἡ Αγροτης, δυ και ξοάνον ἑιναι μαλα σεβασμιον, και ναον ζυγοφορουμενον εν Φοινικῃ, παρα τε Βιβλιοις εξαιρετως θεων ὁ μεγιστος ονομαζεται:—Ειτα φησι τὸν Υψουρανιον οικησαι Τυρον, καλυβας τε επινοησαι απο καλαμιῶν και θρυων και παπυρων· στασιασαι δε προς τον αδελφον Ουσωον, ὁς σκεπην τῳ σωματι πρωτον εκ δερματων ὡν ισχυε συλλαβειν θηριων ευρε· τουτου δε τελευσαντων τους αποληφθεντας φησι ραβδους αυτοις αφιερωσαι. Euſeb. Præp. Evang. Lib. I. p. 35. Ed. Pariſ.

† Ὁμοια δε τουτοις και περι της Ἡρας αδουσιν, ανευ της προς τον ανδρα ὁμιλιας, ὑπενεμιων αυτην παιδα γενησαι τον Ἡφαιστον, ου μαλα ευτυχη τουτον, αλλα Βαναυσον, και Χαλκεα, και Πυριτην, και εν καπνῳ το παν Βιοῦντα, και σπινθηρων αναπλεων, ὁια δη Καμινευτην. Vid. Lucian. Op. Edit. Bourdelot. p. 184.

the Gods.* Nor was indeed the Gradation at all unſuitable to the Genius of thoſe Times; that having firſt worſhipped, as we have ſeen, their *natural* Benefactors, the Sun, Moon, and Stars, in gratitude for the ſeveral *natural* Benefits derived to them from their Agency and Influence, they ſhould next pay the ſame Compliment to their *Civil* ones: who had, as it were, *improved* upon what the others had *began*; had carried their firſt beneficent Deſign into ſtill farther Execution; inlarg'd the Sphere of human Happineſs; and inſtructed their Contemporaries at once to multiply the Comforts of Life, and guard againſt the Inconveniencies inſeparable from a merely *natural* State of it.

You are for making the moſt (I interpos'd) *Hortenſius*, of your Heroes Merits, I perceive, and diſplaying them to the greateſt Advantage. Tho' after all,—the Temple of Fame was, it ſhould ſeem, of much eaſier acceſs in ancient, than it is in modern Times; the ſame humble Attainments being then ſufficient to raiſe a Man to the higheſt Claſs of his Species, which now would ſcarce eſcape Contempt, even in the loweſt.

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* Τους Αλλους κοινης τε τινος και Βιωφελους ευεργεσιας προαρξαντας, ζωντας τε ετι, και μετα τελευτην Θεους επεφημισαν. Euſeb. Præp. Lib. II. cap. 5. pag. 70.

So much (return'd he) *Philemon*, does a difference of Circumſtances in Things alter the real Moment, and Quality of them. We who are full of modern Ideas, and elated with the Privileges of a more advantageous Situation in Life, equally diſtant in Age, and Simplicity from the Period we are ſpeaking of, are apt to undervalue theſe ruder Beginnings, and firſt Efforts of Human Art, and Induſtry; as being ourſelves arrived at much ſuperior Refinements in the Kind. But a Merit they certainly had with thoſe who were Maſters of nothing better; and ſuch an one, as, if it was indeed greatly over-rated in the Adoration of paſt Times, would be full as much undervalued in the Contempt of the preſent. And to ſay the truth, *Philemon*, I know not, but the firſt Step gain'd from *abſolute* Ignorance and Barbariſm is in itſelf a Point of higher Importance to Mankind than any of the ſubſequent Stages of Improvement. It is perhaps a ſtronger Proof of Genius and Sagacity to have been the *Authors* of the firſt coarſe Accommodations of Life, than to have poliſhed and refined them by After-thought and Skill into much higher Degrees of Uſefulneſs and Elegancy. The one is intirely matter of original Invention; the other only improving upon Notices already received in part from without; and profiting by the Skill and Capacity of thoſe

who have lived before us. But whatever be the Merit of theſe firſt rude Artiſts with regard to later Times, they had, doubtleſs, as has been obſerv'd, a very conſiderable one in their own. Having indeed raiſed Life, if not to that Perfection of Accommodation it has ſince received, yet certainly to a much more commodious and comfortable State than they found it in; and this too at a time, when Art and Invention were Talents equally uncommon and advantageous. A Senſe of which was then ſo ſtrong upon the Minds of Men, that Apotheoſis after Death was thought but a ſuitable Recompence to Perſons of ſuch extraordinary Eminence and Uſefulneſs whilſt living. Gratitude for Benefits receiv'd, *Philemon*, is a natural Reſult of that inborn Self-Love which is the great ruling Principle of Human Action. And would operate, we may eaſily imagine, with a Force unknown to us of later Days in thoſe Ages of *rude undiſguiſed* Nature, the Simplicity of which could only be equalled by their extreme Helpleſſneſs. Under ſuch Circumſtances, the ſlighteſt Services to the Public would be received with all the Rapture of the moſt important Obligation; and raiſe the Reputation of their Author to an Height ſomething more than mortal: As indeed they might well do, conſidering the low Standard of ordinary Attainments in the

ſame earlier Times. For 'tis in this view I cannot, I muſt confeſs, help looking upon the renowned Labors of the Heroic Ages; tho' generally repreſented to us by Ancients, as well as Moderns, with a Pomp of Deſcription, which might even do honor to a much more advanc'd and imbelliſh'd Period of Affairs. But the Truth is, being complimented with *Divinity* by the grateful Weakneſs of their own Times, they had both the natural Uncertainty of Tradition, and the Diſpoſition which moſt People have to heighten what they do not underſtand, to exalt them into *Wonders*, I had almoſt ſaid, *worthy* of *Divinity*, in ſucceeding Ages. Whilſt the few, who were wiſe enough to ſee through the Deluſion, were at the ſame time crafty enough to let it paſs with the reſt of the World; till they had by degrees extracted a Syſtem of refin'd and gainful Politics, out of what was at firſt mere artleſs Admiration, and ignorant Amazement.

THIS is a much more rational Account (ſaid I) *Hortenſius*, I think, of the Introduction of the Human Apotheoſis, than theirs, who are for reſolving it into the immediate Artifice of Prieſts, or Politicians. And indeed, beſides that the Reaſon of the Thing itſelf ſpeaks it to have been the Creature of Ignorance and Barbariſm; the other Opi-

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nion ſeems to me not very agreable to matter of Fact and Hiſtory. Every body knows, how very diſadvantageouſly the Divinity of *Alexander* and *Cæſar* ſtands differenced from that of the more antient Heroes of the fabulous Ages. And yet ſurely the Merits of theſe two celebrated Perſons were every way as equal to the Dignity of the complete Apotheoſis, as thoſe of any of their Predeceſſors in Heroiſm can be pretended to be. Nor were, I think, the Arts of Prieſtcraft and Policy ever in a more improv'd State than at the Periods here mentioned. What then is the natural Conſtruction of this ſo remarkable an Inferiority on *their* Part, but plainly, I think, this? That the Times of *Alexander* and *Cæſar* were too much inlightened to authoriſe *anew*, in its full Latitude, ſo groſs an Abſurdity in their Religion, as the Worſhip of a Fellow-Creature. I ſay to authoriſe it *anew*, *Hortenſius*. For, that they kept to a Worſhip of the ſame kind delivered down to them from their Anceſtors, was purely an Accommodation to popular Weakneſs and Prejudices; from a Senſe of the Hazard there is in undermining Foundations long laid, and a Fear of throwing the Multitude out of all Religion, by endeavouring to reſcue them from the Reproach of an irrational one. But whilſt they durſt not venture to reform the popu-

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lar Syſtem of Superſtition, they were ſcrupulous however of adding more Articles of Error to it. And tho' they were tender of diſgracing the Divinity of their old Heroes, they were not, it ſhould ſeem, for making the ſame raſh and unwarrantable Compliment to new ones *.

YOUR

* With how little Succeſs the Affectation of *Alexander* to be eſteemed a God was attended, even in the height of his Fame and Victories, we have abundant Evidence in Antiquity. It ſtood him in the Fatigue of a long and troubleſome Journey, beſides the Expence of ſeveral coſtly Donations to the Temple, and Prieſts of the *Libyan Jupiter*, to be nominally *proclaimed* for ſuch; the ſerious *Belief* of his Divinity was what he was by no means able to eſtabliſh—Igitur *Alexander* cupiens divinam Otiginem acquirere, (ſays *Juſtin*) ſimul et Matrem infamiâ liberare, per præmiſſos ſubornat Antiſtites, quid ſibi reſponderi velit. Ingredientem Templum ſtatim Antiſtites, ut *Hammonis* Filium ſalutant. Comitibus quoque ſuis reponſum, ut *Alexandrum* pro *Deo*, non pro *Rege*, colerent. Juſtin. Lib. xi, cap. 11. How ſlender a regard was paid to the Mercenary, not to add (what appears both from *Diodorus*'s and *Plutarch*'s Account of the Matter) equivocal Compliment of the Oracle upon this Occaſion, appears from our Heroe's own Account of the Anſwer he had received from *Philotas*, upon firſt giving him notice of it—Hic quum ſcripſiſſem ei, pro jure tam familiaris amicitiæ, qualis ſors edita eſſet *Jovis Hammonis* Oraculo, ſuſtinuit reſcribere mihi, ſe quidem gratulari quod in numerum Deorum relatus eſſem; ceterum Miſereri Eorum quibus vivendum eſſet ſub eo, qui modum hominis excederet. Quint. Curt. Lib. vi. 27. The ſame Author informs us of the ſtinging Reproach offered to *Alexander*, upon his affecting Divine Honors, by *Hermolaus*, in the following

YOUR Obſervation (return'd he) *Philemon*, is certainly a very juſt one. Prieſts and

lowing Words——Tu *Macedonas* voluiſti genua tibi ponere, venerarique te ut Deum. Tu *Philippum* Patrem averſaris, et ſi quis Deorum ante *Jovem* haberetur, faſtidires etiam *Jovem*. Miraris, ſi liberi homines ſuperbiam tuam ferre non poſſumus? Quint. Curt. Lib. viii. cap. 26. They had ſtill leſs reaſon to indure the Vanity of *Alexander* here, if they were aware, as *Plutarch* tells us ſome repreſented the Caſe, that the whole Pretence upon which he founded his Title to Adoration was a miſtaken Pronunciation of the *Greek* Language by the Prieſt who preſided at the time of his *Libyan* Expedition in the Temple of *Jupiter*.—Επειδε διεξελθων την ερημον ηκεν εις την πολιν, ὁ μεν προφητης αυτον ὁ Αμμωνος απο του θεου χαιρειν, ὡς απο πατρος, προσειπεν· ὁ δε επηρετο μητις αυτον ειη διαπεφευγως των του πατρος φονεων; ευφημειν δε του προφητου κελευοντος, (ου γαρ ειναι πατερα θνητον αυτω) μεταβαλλων επυνθανετο κ. τ. λ——ενιοι δε φασιν, τον μεν προφητην Ελληνιστι βουλομενον προσειπειν, μετα τινος φιλοφροσυνης, Ω παιδιον, εν τω τελευταιω των φθογγων υπο βαρβαρισμου προς το σιγμα εξενεχθηναι, και ειπειν, Ω παιδιος, αντι του ν το σ χρησαμενον· ασμενω δε τω Αλεξανδρω το σφαλμα της φωνης γενεσθαι, και διαδοθηναι λογον, ὡς παιδα Διος αυτον του θεου προσειποντος· Plut. in Alex. p. 680. Ed. Xyl. What the wiſer, and diſintereſted Part of the *Romans*, thought of *Cæſar*'s Divinity, the following Paſſages will ſufficiently inform us—Prægravant tamen cætera Facta, ut abuſus Dominatione, et jure Cæſus exiſtimetur. Non enim honores modo nimios recepit, ſed et ampliora humano faſtigio decerni ſibi paſſus eſt. Sedem auream in curiâ, et pro Tribunali. Thenſam et Ferculum Circenſi Pompâ. Templa, Aras, Simulachra juxta

Deos,

and Politicians have both of them real Corruptions enough to anſwer for, without being charged with imaginary ones. 'Tis a great Miſtake to think, that they firſt *taught Men Superſtition*. That would probably have been a Strain of Art beyond the Compaſs of their moſt refin'd and ſubtil Politics. Nor was it any way to their purpoſe to attempt this, when they could carry their Point full as ſucceſsfully, and much more eaſily with Mankind, by dealing with them as already *inſtructed to their hands*. They indeed found them abundantly *ſelf-taught* in the Buſineſs of Superſtition. The Seeds of Religion were either

Deos, Pulvinar, Flaminem, Lupercos, appellationem Menſis e ſuo Nomine. Suet. in Jul. Cæſ. cap. 76. —To the ſame purpoſe *Florus*—Itaque non ingratis Civibus omnes honores unum in principem congeſti. Circa Templa imagines, in Theatro diſtincta radiis Corona, Suggeſtus in Curiâ, Faſtigium in Domo, Menſis in Cœlo—quæ omnia velut infulæ in deſtinatam Morti victimam congerebantur, Flor. Lib. iv. cap. 2. *Cicero* ſpeaks yet more plainly the Senſe of his Time as to this Point—An me cenſetis, Patres Conſcripti, quod vos inviti ſecuti eſtis, decreturum fuiſſe, ut Parentalia cum Supplicationibus miſcerentur? Ut inexpiabiles Religiones in Rempublicam inducerentur? ut decernerentur Supplicationes Mortuo? nihil dico Cui. fuerit ille Lucius Brutus, &c. —Adduci tamen non poſſum, ut quenquam Mortalium conjungerem cum immortalium Religione. Phil. i. 6. Ed. Græv. and elſewhere, Eſt ergo Flamen, ut *Jovi*, ut *Marti*, ut *Quirino*, ſic Divo *Julio* M. *Antonius*? —Quæres placeatne mihi Pulvinar Eſſe, Faſtigium, Flaminem? mihi vero nihil iſtorum placet. Phil. ii. 43.

by the Hand of Nature or Tradition ſown thick in the Breaſt of every Man. And though for want of proper Care and Culture they might not yield the good Produce they were intended to do, they would not however fail to ſpring up in ſome wilder Species of a leſs valuable Fruitfulneſs; as was, it muſt be confeſs'd, too generally the Caſe. Now here properly came in the Art and Addreſs of the Hierarch, and the Stateſman. He was to fall in with the particular Vogue and Caſt of popular Deluſion in this kind; to cheriſh the prevailing Weakneſs of the Multitude; and by a dexterous Conduct and Application of public Failings to turn the Biaſs of them to his own private Ends and Intereſts. And accordingly, as under the Head of the natural Theology we had occaſion, you may remember, to obſerve the Courſe of Superſtition in that Channel, advancing gradually from popular Weakneſs into Philoſophic Syſtem; ſo here again we ſhall obſerve a parallel Gradation in the Progreſs of Heroic-Worſhip: in which, as will be ſhewn, what began in the Simplicity of a few artleſs funeral Ceremonies, and more obvious Tokens of Concern for the Loſs of a late departed Benefactor, was in a Succeſſion of Time and Politics wrought up into all the gainful Intricacies, and elaborated Horrors, of a *periodical*, and *more ſolemnly Religious*,

Religious, Myſtery. And here, *Philemon*, we may in paſſing take notice of the very different Turns of Error in the ſame Subject. By one Set of Men, whatever was amiſs in Religious Paganiſm, the *Prieſthood* in thoſe Days is immediately charged with being the Authors of it. Whilſt by thoſe of another Stamp the *Prieſthood* is made to have no ſhare in theſe Corruptions, but the whole blame is full as unjuſtly placed to the account of *Philoſophy*. And, for fear we ſhould be too free with Reaſon in Subjects of Religion, we are told, that from this *ſole Principle* ſprang all the Abſurdities of a religious kind that ever prevailed in Antiquity. They had their Birth in the Refinements of conceited Rationaliſts; were the Product of pretended Speculation and Philoſophic Inquiries into the Nature of Things; and aroſe from a certain Infidel Humor, as prevalent in antient as modern Times, of oppoſing Science to Faith, and Reaſoning to Tradition*. It was a great *Ge-*

*If we examine, we ſhall ſee, that from the Beginning to the preſent Times, it has always been a vain Philoſophy, and an Affectation of *Science falſely ſo called*, that has corrupted Religion. Shuck. Con. Vol. I. p. 318. Compare with this, Con. Vol. II. p. 290, 291. They (Men of the firſt Parts) fell into theſe Errors, not by paying too great a Deference to Tradition, and pretended Revelation, but even by attempting to ſet up what they thought a reaſonable Scheme of Religion, diſtinct from, or in oppoſition to, what Tradition had handed down to them. Shuck. Con. vol. II. p. 305. See alſo p. 306.

Their

nius and *Aſtronomer* amongſt the *Egyptians*, 'tis ſaid, "thinking to ſpeculate, and hap-"pening to think wrong," who firſt ſeduced his Countrymen into the Infatuation of *Sabiiſm*. And in conſequence of his Aſtronomic Science taught them that Worſhip upon Principles of *Art*, which they were, I ſhould think, fully qualified to learn, without his Inſtructions, from the Simplicity of *Rude Nature* *. And the ſame fruitful Source of Error and Miſbelief, purſued yet farther in After-Ages, gave riſe, it is maintained, to all the ſubſequent Articles of their increaſing Polytheiſm †. In order to make out which Hypotheſis, *Philemon*, Syſtems of Philoſophic Refinement even of the *loweſt* Date in Pagan Antiquity ſhall be made the Ground-work of Idolatries of the higheſt. Salvos and Apologies for eſtabliſh'd Errors ſhall be conſidered as the original Cauſes and Reaſons of their Eſtabliſhment. Palliating and Accommodation be ſtrain'd into Proofs of ſtrict Philoſophic Sentiment. Tolerating interpreted to mean the ſame thing with Inſtituting. Till,

Their great and learned Men erred not for want of *Free-thinking*, ſuch as they called ſo; but their Opinions were in direct oppoſition to the true Revelations which had been made to the World, and might be called the Deiſm of thoſe Ages. Shuck. vol. II. p. 460.

* See Shuck. Con. vol. I. p. 318.

† See Shuck. Con. vol. II. p. 278-9, and following ones.

Till, as if there was nothing of Policy in the Caſe, but all was genuine Miſtake and Deluſion, it ſhall at laſt be aſſerted, " that " there never was any thing ſo extrava- " gant or ridiculous in Religion, but Men " of the firſt Parts, and eminent for their " natural Strength of Underſtanding, " when left wholly to themſelves, have " been deceiv'd to imbrace and defend it*." Such merely *ſplendid Weakneſs*, it ſeems, was the moſt improved State of natural Reaſon, unaſſiſted by the additional Guidance of Revelation. And ſo *uncandid* a Cenſurer was the great Apoſtle of theſe Gentiles, when he reproached them with a Criminal Neglect, or Suppreſſion of *that which was*, in this account, *not to be known* by them *of God*, previouſly to any ſupernatural Diſcovery of him†. But in Truth, *Philemon*, and Syſtems apart, neither Prieſts, I believe, nor Philoſophers, were properly the Authors of the Pagan Superſtitions. They were the genuine Offſpring of popular Rudeneſs and Ignorance. And if Philoſophy did not do all it might have done towards giving Men juſter Apprehenſions of things, it was, becauſe it either wanted Courage to oppoſe the Cheat, or was often adminiſter'd by hands too deeply intereſted in it; and affords us, I am afraid, a much more juſtifiable

* See Shuck. Con. vol. II. from p. 278, to 307.
† See Rom. i. v. 19.

fiable Preſumption of Cowardice, or Corruption in the Hearts of its Profeſſors, than of any Want of competent Information in their Underſtandings.

If Accommodations (I interrupted) *Hortenſius*, to popular Prejudices are any Proofs of being oneſelf in the common Deluſion, even the Light of Revelation has been of no very eminent Advantage in point of Religious Inſtruction to a great part of the more knowing Chriſtian World. For are not Chriſtians at this day, in a certain Communion I could name, tolerated in Superſtitions, which might have almoſt conteſted the Preeminence of Abſurdity with the groſſeſt Pagan ones? To ſay here that many things are not ſuffered to paſs with the Multitude, of which the Learned evidently perceive the Ridicule, is making a Compliment to their Sincerity, at a much greater Diſgrace to their Penetration, than they themſelves would generally, I believe, be thankful for. And thus without doubt ſtood the Fact in Philoſophic Antiquity. For the Nature of Mankind, and Reaſons of Policy, have been always, I ſuppoſe, pretty nearly the ſame. Seriouſly a Man muſt read the Writings of the antient Theiſtic Philoſophers (and ſuch only can this Queſtion concern) with a very perverſe Comment, who does not ſee, that they *knew* much better, than they ſometimes

times found it prudent to *teach*; and were every way qualified to have given the World a competently rational Theory of Religion, if they had not found them already in poſſeſſion of a traditionary one of a very different Genius; and from the Danger of unſettling Eſtabliſhments, and letting in Light upon weak Eyes, been led to turn their Thoughts rather to the palliating, than the Reforming Side in this Affair. And indeed were not the moſt undoubted Patrons of Revelation ſo fond of this Hypotheſis, *Hortenſius*, one would wonder what poſſible Advantage to their Cauſe they could propoſe from it. To me it ſeems to be not more undermining the Principles and Foundation of natural Religion, than it is thereby taking away the *only ſure* Teſt and Criterion of the Merit of Revealed. For if Men have *no* previous natural Notices of a Supreme Being by which to judge of what *may*, or *may not*, be ſuppoſed to come from him in a way of more extraordinary Communication, the Credit of all pretended Revelations is manifeſtly put upon the ſame Footing. Every thing is to be received as a Revelation, which a confident Enthuſiaſt or Impoſtor may call ſuch: or rather the very Suppoſition itſelf of *any ſuch thing* is render'd abſurd and ridiculous.

It would carry us (return'd he) too much out of our way at preſent, *Philemon*, to enter into a more particular Cenſure of this Hypotheſis. Its Aim doubtleſs is to inhance the *Value* of Revelation, by evincing the *abſolute Neceſſity* of it. But, beſides that Men ſhould be cautious how they compliment Revelation into this ſuppoſed Neceſſity at the Expence of its own proper Evidences; the Term Neceſſity here is, I think, too *ſtrong* an one. Expediency is all that is wanted in the Caſe, and all that either Reaſon, or indeed Fact, ſeems to juſtify the Aſſertion of. For look into the ſubject Matter of the Revelation contended for, and you will find, that the greateſt part of what are properly new Diſcoveries in it are rather Inforcements *of* natural Religion, than Additions *to* it. For the reſt, it teaches little more than what had been taught before. But then it has the Advantage of teaching it with an Authority peculiar to itſelf; and in a manner ſo much more ſutable to the Ends of popular Improvement, as to give it an undiſputed Superiority to every *human* Method of Inſtruction. But this, as I ſaid, is a matter beyond our preſent Compaſs. Nor need we indeed entertain ſo raiſed an Idea of Philoſophic Antiquity, as is here contended for, to ſatisfy ourſelves, that the particular Error in Religious Paganiſm we are now conſidering

ſidering, the Worſhip of the antient Heroes, was not inſtituted from that Quarter. It had in truth ſo very little of Philoſophy in it at its firſt Appearance in the World, that the ſubtile Induſtry of Mythologiſts, exerciſing itſelf probably for Ages together to this end, could with Difficulty form it to a Philoſophic Air and Aſpect even in its lateſt Periods. No, *Philemon*; the Workings of undiſciplined Nature are a much better Account of the Origin of Hero-Worſhip, than any Stratagems of Art or Politics. Philoſophy of the humbleſt kind could not but have remonſtrated to ſuch a palpable Abſurdity; and muſt have been too ſenſibly ſtruck with its Confutation, to have projected its Eſtabliſhment. The moſt that Policy could accompliſh in the Caſe was, as appears from the Hiſtory of later Deifications of this kind, to extort a formal Teſtimony of Apotheoſis from the conſtrained and flattering Voices of the People, not to procure a real and affectionate Adoration from their Hearts *. And to compliment its Heroes

* Jamque omnibus præparatis, Ratus (Alexander) quod olim pravâ mente conceperat, tunc eſſe maturum, quonam modo cœleſtes honores uſurparet cœpit agitare. Jovis filium non tantum dici ſe, ſed etiam credi volebat. Tanquam perinde *animis* imperare poſſet, ac *Linguis*. Itaque more Perſarum Macedonas venerabundos ipſum ſalutare proſternentes humi corpora juſſit. Non deerat talia concupiſcenti pernicioſa adulatio, perpetuum Malum Regum, quorum opes ſæpius aſſentatio quam Hoſtis evertit. Quint. Curt. Lib. VIII. cap. 17.

into the empty Title of Divinity, without obtaining for them either the hearty Perſuaſion, or the more ſubſtantial Honors of it. Theſe had been long appropriated to thoſe Heroes of remoter Antiquity, who lived in happier Times for an Advancement of this nature *. For that their Advancement

* Και τοι μεγαλα μεν ὑμνουνται πραξεις εν Ασσυριοις Σεμιραμιος· μεγαλαι δε αἱ Σεσωστριος εν Αιγυπτῳ· Κυρος δε Περσας, Μακεδονας δε Αλεξανδρος, ολιγου δειν επι περας της γης κρατουντας προηγαγον· αλλα ονομα και μνημην Βασιλεων αγαθων εχουσιν· ει δε τινες εξαρθεντες ὑπο μεγαλαυχιας, ὡς φησιν ὁ Πλατων, ἁμα νεοτητι και αγνοια, φλεγομενοι την ψυχην, μεθ' ὑβρεως εδεξαντο θεων επωνυμιας, και ναων ἱδρυσεις, βραχυν ηνθησεν ἡ δοξα χρονον· ειτα κενοτητα, και αλαζονειαν, μετα ασεβειας, και παρανομιας, προσοφλοντες·

Ωκυμοροι, καπνοιο δικην, αρθεντες απεπλαν καιννν, ὡστερ αγωγιμοι δραπεται, των ἱερων και των Βωμων αποσπασθεντες, ουδεν αλλ' ἡ τα μνηματα και τους ταφους εχουσιν. Plutarch. de Iſide & Oſiride, pag. 360. We have a remarkable Example of this in the Inſtance of *Semiramis* recorded in *Lucian*'s Treatiſe of the *Syrian* Goddeſs. Εν αριστερη του νεω Σεμιραμιος ξοανον εστηκε, εν δεξιη του νηον επιδεικνυουσης· ανεστη δε δι' αιτιην τοιηνδε· ανθρωποισι, ὁκοσοι Συριην οικεουσι, νομον εποιεετο ἑωυτην μεν ὁκως θεον ἱλασκεσθαι, θεων δε των αλλων, και αυτης Ἡρας αλογεειν· και ὡδε εποιεον· μετα δε, ὡς οἱ θεοθεν αφικοντο νουσοι τε, και συμφορη, και αλγεα, μανιης μεν εκεινης απεπαυσατο, και θνητην ἑωυτην ὁμολογεε, και τοισι ὑπηκοοισι αυθις εκελευεν ες Ἡρην τρεπεσθαι· τουνεκα δη ετι τοιηδε ανεστηκε, τοισι απικνεομενοισι την Ἡρην ἱλασκεσθαι δεικνυουσα, και θεον ουκ ἑωυτην, αλλ' εκεινην ὁμολογεουσα. Lucian. de

ment was indeed the immediate Recompence after Death of their well-timed Labors and Services to their Contemporaries in the Courſe of their Lives is with me, I muſt confeſs, a matter beyond all reaſonable Doubt or Contradiction. Nor can I ever bring myſelf to ſubſcribe to their Hypotheſis, who contend, that the firſt Hero Gods of the *Egyptians*, (the great Leaders, you know, in Theologic Paganiſm) were not deified upon their Deceaſe by the warm Gratitude of their ſurviving Countrymen; but by the Artifice of intriguing Stateſmen many Centuries afterwards *.

THIS is ſurely (ſaid I) a very unnatural way of thinking, to place the Recompence of their Benefactions in an Age ſo much below the Date of them. When the very Memory of what they had performed muſt

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de Syr. Deâ, p. 1072-3. *Lyſippus* ſpoke the Senſe of many People as well as his own, when he profeſſed to deſpiſe *Alexander* as a God, though he honored him as a Man. Ευ δε και Λυσιππος ὁ πλαστης Απελλην εμεμψατο του ζωγραφον, ὁτι την Αλεξανδρου γραφων εικονα, κεραυνον ενεχειρισεν· αυτος δε λοΐχην, ἡς την δοξαν ουδε εἰς αφαιρησεται χρονος, αληθινην και ιδιαν ουσαν. Plut. ub. ſup. p. 360.

* In time they (the *Egyptians*) looked over the Catalogue of their Anceſtors, and appointed a Worſhip for ſuch as had been more eminently famous in their Generations. Shuck. Con. Vol. I. p. 336. The ſame Thought is purſued and explained more at large in vol. II. from p. 281, to 292.

have been in a great meaſure extinguiſhed, or retained only in ſuch a confuſed and general way, as to be but a weak Foundation for that Perſonal Regard and Gratitude, without which, Politicians would ſcarce have been able to have procured them ſuch high Marks of Honor and Diſtinction. Beſides that, had their particular Services been ever ſo well remembered, ſtill it ſhould be conſidered, that Life had now been long improving; and the ſuperior Skill and Refinements of ſucceeding Ages muſt have in a great Degree eclipſed the Merit of their weaker Obligations.

To what different Concluſions, I cannot help remarking here (returned *Hortenſius*) will the very ſame Principles lead Men, according to the different Views they have in applying them? Time, *Philemon*, which you eſteem ſo much an Enemy to our Heroes Glory, is in the Conſtruction of this Hypotheſis made to have been the chief Friend to it. And inſtead of eraſing, as you ſeem to apprehend, their Memory, becomes the immediate Inſtrument of their Apotheoſis. For whilſt indeed it preſerved but little of their true Character, it infinitely over-paid their Loſs in the ſuperior Advantages it gave them of an imaginary Reputation. Improving the want of authentic Records of real Benefactions into

a pompous Regiſter of fabulous ones; and raiſing at once the Credit of their Services from Fact to Fiction, and of themſelves from Earth to Heaven *. For *thus* only, we are told, could they ever have arrived at this Advancement. "The Fame of "deceaſed Perſons" being, it ſeems, a Plant of ſuch ſlow Improvement, that it "muſt "have Ages to grow up to Heaven: And "Divine Honors being not with any tole-"rable Decency to be given to them, but "but by a late Poſterity †."

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* See Shuck. Con. Vol. II. p. 286.

† See as before, p. 287. The Learned Writer upon this Occaſion ſupports his Hypotheſis by the Teſtimony of *Plutarch* in the ſeveral Caſes, as above repreſented, of *Semiramis*, *Seſoſtris*, *Cyrus*, and *Alexander*. Upon which he obſerves, "that whenever "any of theſe Perſons affected Divinity, they ſunk "inſtead of raiſing their Character by it; their "Story was too modern to permit them to be Gods." It had not enough of Extravagancy and Romance in it to raiſe them to the Dignity of the Apotheoſis; a fabulous Fame being ſuppoſed here a neceſſary Condition to a divine one. And accordingly *Plutarch* is introduced contending that the ſeveral Hero Gods of the *Egyptians* were *Genii*, and not Men, as conceiving them to have been *of a Power and Nature more than Mortal.* Βελτιον ουν οἱ τα περι τον Τυφωνα, και Οσιριν, και Ισιν, ἱστορουμενα, μητε θεων ειναι νομιζοντες, μητε ανθρωπων, αλλα Δαιμονων μεγαλων ειναι νομιζοντες. Concerning whom it is afterwards obſerved, that they were eſteemed to be, ερρωμενεστερους ανθρωπων, το δε Θειον ουκ αμιγες ουδε ακρατον εχοντας, αλλα και ψυχης φυσεως και σωματος

A SIMILE (ſaid I) *Hortenſius*, is, you know, with many People a much more diſ-

ματος αισθησεως συνειληχοτας, ηδονην δεχομενης και πονον, και οσα ταυταις γινομενα ταις μεταβολαις παθη τους μεν μαλλον, τους δ' ηττον επιταρατ[τ]ειν. Plut. de Iſide et Oſiride, p. 360. But whoever takes in the Context in this Place, and attends to the full Scope and Purport of *Plutarch*'s Reaſoning here, will find, that the true Motive to his making Demons or middle Natures of the *Egyptian* Heroes was not their being repreſented to have acted above the ordinary Powers of *Men*, but below all rational Conceptions of *Gods*—Ει ταυτα περι της μακαριας και αφθαρτου φυσεως, καθ' ην μαλιστα νοειται το Θειον, ως αληθως πραχθεντα και συμπεσοντα δοξαζουσι και λεγουσι, αποπλυσαι δει και καθηρασθαι το στομα, κατ' Αισχυλον. Plut. ubi ſup. p. 358. This was the Difficulty on one Side of the Queſtion. And on the other, to go into the Scheme of *Euhemerus* the *Meſſenian*, and reduce the whole Syſtem of Hero-Gods to certain mere common Men of the firſt Ages, after they had been long in poſſeſſion of a much higher Character; this, it was thought, was making too free with eſtabliſhed Opinions, and, as moſt Men were apt to confound their own educational Prejudices about Religion with Religion itſelf, might be opening a Door to Atheiſm—Οκνω δε μη τουτο η τα ακινητα κινειν, και πολεμειν ου τω χρονω πολλω, κατα Σιμωνιδην, μοιοι, πολλοις δε ανθρωπων εθνεσι και γενεσι κατοχοις υπο της προς τους θεους τουτους οσιοτητος, ουδεν απολιποντας του εξ ουρανου μεταφερειν επι γην ονοματα τηλικαυτα, και τιμην και πιστιν ολιγου δειν απασιν εκ πρωτης γενεσεως ενδεδυκυιαν εξισταναι και αναλευειν, μεγαλας μεν τω αθεω λεω κλησιαδας ανοιγεντας, και εξανθρωπιζοντι τα θειτα. The Medium therefore approved by our Philoſopher upon this Occaſion was, as we ſay, that of conſider-

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diſpatchful Method of Conviction, than a dry Piece of Reaſoning. And yet, methinks, to purſue a little the Compariſon before us, could we but happily find out a proper Soil and Seaſon for the Purpoſe, the Plant we are ſpeaking of might have a much quicker Growth than is here ſuppoſed. For, may we not conſider Fame in the intelligent World as in ſome reſpects of the Nature of what are called Annuals in the vegetable? 'tis not perhaps a common Cultivation that will produce it. Happier Seaſons, a more improved Receptacle, and much additional Power of Sunſhine are neceſſary to its ſucceſsful Propagation. But under theſe Advantages it is much ſooner raiſed to its Perfection than many a Plant of an humbler Species. And thus, *Hortenſius*, with your leave, I would anſwer, as I think is the moſt ſuitable way, one Simile with another. For the more ſerious Part of the Argument, the greater *Decency* here aſcribed to a late Deification; that, I muſt own, ſeems

ing the ſeveral Divinities of the Heroic Claſs as ſo many middle Natures between Gods and Men. Βελτιον ουν κτλ· See Plutarch de Iſide, &c. p. 359, 360. The Embaraſs which the wiſer Antients were under as to this Matter is thus excellently repreſented by our Author in the Sequel of this Treatiſe—— Πως ουν χρηστεον εστι ταις σκυθρωποις, και αγελαστοις, και πενθιμοις θυσιαις, ει μητε παραλιπειν τα νενομισμενα καλως εχει, μητε φυρειν τας περι θεων δοξας και συνταρατ[illegible]ειν ὑποψιαις ατοποις; De Iſide, p. 378.

ſeems to me to lie wholly on the ſide of an early one. For ſurely they who lived under the actual Senſe and Feeling of our Heroes Benefactions had a much better Apology to offer for the Worſhip of them, than ſuch as were ſituated in Life equally below the Reach, and the Memory, of the firſt Heroic Labors. And who therefore to the Guilt of authoriſing, as is here ſuppoſed, the *Practice* of the human Apotheoſis, muſt have added the Aggravation of truſting altogether to fabulous Tradition, and the doubtful Reports of common Fame, for the very Reaſons of it.

We will then proceed (reſumed *Hortenſius*) upon this Point as ſufficiently confirmed to us both from Reaſon and Hiſtory; that the proper Inſtitution of Heroic-Worſhip was the Work of remoter Antiquity. For the particular Modification, and Conduct of this kind of Worſhip, we muſt have recourſe to the *Egyptian* Formularies. Hiſtorians are, I think, univerſally agreed, that "the "*Egyptians* were the firſt of Mankind who "were known to have been acquainted "both with the Names and Hiſtories of the "chief Hero-Gods of Paganiſm *." As indeed

* Πρωτοι μεν ων ανθρωπων, των ημεις ιδμεν, Αιγυπτιοι λεγονται θεων τε εννοιην λαβειν.—Πρωτοι δε και ονοματα ιρα εγνωσαν, και λογους ιρους ελεξαν. Lucian

indeed they might very naturally be, conſidering that the original Subjects of them were themſelves *Egyptians*; had been perſonally reſident in *Egypt*; and, in the ſeveral Cities to which they had given both Being and Names, left many ſtanding Monuments of their once more immediate Power and Preſence in this Country *. In conſequence of which ſo near and national a Relation to Divinity, the *Egyptians* are ſaid to have been the Original Authors of a public Divine Worſhip: To have inſtituted from the earlieſt Memory amongſt themſelves the Practice of ſtated Meetings, Proceſſions, and Solemnities of a Religious kind; and to have given the Example of ſuch periodical Obſervances, and more pompous and ſplendid Superſtitions, to moſt other Parts of the Pagan World †. To them there-

F fore

Lucian de Syr. Deâ, p. 1057. Σχεδον δε και παντα τα ονοματα των θεων εξ Αιγυπτου εληλυθε ες την Ἑλλαδα. Herod. Lib. 2. cap. 50. Ed. Steph.

* Της πασης οικουμενης (φασιν Αιγυπτιοι) κατα μουνην την Αιγυπτον ειναι πολεις πολλας ὑπο των αρχαιων θεων εκτισμενας, οἱον Διος, Ἡλιου, Ἑρμου, Απολλωνος, Πανος, Ειλειθυιας, αλλων πλειονων. Diod. Sic. Bib. Lib. 1. p. 12.

† Πανηγυριας δε αρα και πομπας και προσκυνηγας πρωτοι ανθρωπων Αιγυπτιοι εισι οἱ ποιησαμενοι· και παρα τουτων Ἑλληνες μεμαθηκασι· Herod. Lib. 2. cap. 42. Πρωτοι μεν ὡν ανθρωπων, των ἡμεις ἱδμεν, Αιγυπτιοι λεγουται και ἱρα εισασθαι, και τεμενεα, και πανηγυριας αποδεξαι· Lucian. de Syr. Deâ, p. 1057.

fore let us here apply ourſelves, *Philemon*; and from a careful Attention to what they are reported to have practiſed in the Worſhip of their two principal Hero-Deities, *Oſiris*, and *Iſis*, form a kind of Theory, or general Idea in our Minds of the Quality of Hero-Worſhip at large. For which Antiquity gives us, I may obſerve, a ſufficient Warrant, when it informs us, as its own Judgment in the Caſe, that ſome of the moſt celebrated Inſtances of *Heroic* Superſtition in different Ages, and Countries, were but the *adopted Rites* of the two Divinities juſt mentioned *: An Evidence this, in the loweſt Conſtruction of it, that they were at leaſt the ſame in kind, if not ſtrictly ſuch in Subſtance. All of them, (what, I believe, we might venture to aſſert of every Inſtance of Heroic-Worſhip without reſerve) founded in the ſame general Reaſons and Principles, and partaking upon the whole of one common Purpoſe, Deſign, and Sentiment. The Character which Antiquity has preſerved to us of the *Egyptian Oſiris* and *Iſis* is, that they were

* Την μεν γαρ Οσιριδος τελετην τη Διονυσου την αυτην ειναι, την δε της Ισιδος της Δημητρος ὁμοιοτατην ὑπαρχειν, των ονοματων μονου ενηλλαγμενου· Diod. Sic. Lib. 1. p. 86. Εισι δε ενιοι Βυβλιων, οἱ λεγουσι παρα σφισι τεθαφθαι τον Οσιριν τον Αιγυπτιου· και τα πενθεα, και τα οργια, ουκ ες Αδωνιν, αλλ' ες Οσιριν παντα πρησσεσθαι. Lucian. de Syr. Deâ, p. 1058.

a very early King and Queen of *Egypt*, whoſe Reign was one continued Series of public Benefactions, and Services both to their Kingdom, and Neighbourhood *. Or, what is probably the more literal Truth of their Caſe, they were two very active, benevolent, and public-ſpirited Perſons at the Head of a Colony in *Egypt*, at the Time of its firſt Peopling; who taught many uſeful Inventions and Accommodations of Life, as well to thoſe who were immediate Sharers with them in the Occupation of their new Territory, as to ſuch of the neighboring Clans, and alike recent Settlements round about them, as either wanted, or would partake of their Aſſiſtance. I pretend not to adjuſt the preciſe Chronology of our *Egyptian* Heroes, *Philemon*; or to enter into a Queſtion, the Intricacies of which have long baffled the Induſtry of the ableſt Inquirers to determine: and which perhaps is beſt determined after all, if one may be allowed to ſpeak ſo, by being left to that impenetrable Obſcurity it is found in. For ſuch ſurely muſt be thought its Caſe, when the Times and Characters of the two celebrated Perſons we are ſpeaking of have been

* Ταυτην δε λεγουσι (την Ισιν) γημαντα τον Οσιριν, και την Βασιλειαν διαδεξαμενον πολλα πραξαι προς ευεργεσιαν του κοινου βιου. Diod. Sic. Bib. Lib. 1. p. 13.

as confidently, as ſeverally, conteſted to fall in with all thoſe of *Ham**, *Miſraim*†, *Eſau*‡, and

* See *Marſham*'s Chron. Can. p. 30. 31.

† See Shuck. Con. Vol. I. p. 205, and following ones.

‡ See Reflexions Critiques ſur les Hiſtoires des anciens Peuples par Mr. Fourmont, Vol. I. Liv. 2. chap. 13. Je dis donc, et je ſoutiens ce que toute la terre a ignorée, qu'il n'y a jamais eu d'autre *Oſiris*, qu' Eſau, Fils de Sadid, c'eſt à dire de Δευς, ou d'Iſaac. p. 104. La Montagne de Seir, ou il fit ſa demeure particuliere lui donna le nom de *Hoſcheiri* ou *Oſiri*, l'habitant, c'eſt à dire le Prince de Seir. p. 107. This Author is a great Clearer of Difficulties in the Chronology of the Heroic Ages. He has an Art of reducing almoſt all the Hero Gods of the Pagan World to the Family of *Abraham*. He is ſo fond of this Hypotheſis, that he knows not how ſufficiently to applaud himſelf for the Invention of it. On trouve bien, ſays he, que Jupiter eſt fils de Kronos, que Kronos étoit fils d'Ouranos, et celui ci fils d'Acmon. Mais, *une choſe etonnante*, jamais aucun Mythologiſte a-t-il oſé dire qu'il ſavoit la Cauſe de ces denominations? *Je dis moi que les voici decouvertes, et de plus Hiſtoriquement.* Tharé a eu pluſieurs noms; entre autre celui de Tharé, celui d'Azar, &c. Son nom patronimique eſt Ουρανος, Ouranos; c'eſt en Syrien Ourano, Ourien, ou l'homme de Our. *Rien de plus ſenſé*, il y habitoit. Reflex. Crit. p. 63. *Kronos*, mot que les Latins ont traduit par *Saturnus*, en Chaldeen et en Syrien ne ſignifie-t-il pas encore l'homme de *Charan*, ou le Charanien? et ce Charanien eſt il autre qu' *Abraham?* Voila donc encore l'origine, & *l'origine indubitable* du nom de Kronos. Reflex. p. 64. Les Interpretes conviennent preſque tous que c'eſt le veritable nom de Sara, (Iſkah.) ce nom eſt il bien eloigné de celui d'Iſis? p. 88. Lorſque Abraham eut voulu ſacrifier ſon fils, l'hiſtoire ſcûe dans toute la contrée le fit appeller Sadid, en Arabe

Seſoſtris *. Whilſt an Hypotheſis more modern than all of theſe, and full as ſanguine as any of them, denies both our Heroes themſelves, and the whole Family of Heroic Divinities from them, to have had any real hiſtorical Age, or even Exiſtence at all. Gives them neither a higher, nor a more ſubſtantial Pedigree, than the mere Corruptions, and Miſtakes of the Hieroglyphic Language of Antiquity. Degrades them from once living and human, into a Set of merely ideal and figurative Perſonages. Makes them the Characters not of Men, but Things:

Arabe & en Phenicien ligatus. Mais Ζευς eſt il Sadid? oüi: & ceci même devient un denoüement pour l'Hiſtoire du Monde la plus Embaraſſante. Juſqu'ici on a tiré Zeus de Ζεω brouillir, ou de Ζωω vivre. Mais enfin il reſtoit un ſcrupule; Pour Ζευς les anciens diſoient auſſi, Σδευς, ou même Δευς. Et ce Δευς pouvoit venir également de δεω ligo. Une marque même que ζεω dans les premiers tems de la Grece ſignifioit lier, c'eſt que de ce verbe inuſité etoit deſcendu le diminutif ζωω, d'ou ζωνη ζωννυω ceindre, en Latin Zona. *Il eſt donc clair comme le Jour*, que δευς a ſignifié ligatus, conſtrictus. Reflexions Crit. Vol. I. p. 96. The ſame Author proves in much the ſame manner that *Typhon* is *Jacob*, and *Ceres*, *Keturah*, and *Proſerpine*, a Daughter of *Abraham* by *Keturah*, ſo called becauſe her Mother was of *Beerſheba*—la Berſebonienne ou la Perſephonienne—Perſephone ou Proſerpine eſt une femme priſe dans le pais de Berſabée. Quoi de plus admirable! p. 82, 83. Nothing, we ſee, can exceed the Sagacity of our Etymologiſt, except his Confidence.

* See Sir *Iſaac Newton*'s Chron. p. 192, 193, and elſewhere.

Things: Expreſſions only either of the Courſe of Time, and of certain annual Occurrences and Ceremonies amongſt the *Egyptians*; of the Order of public Feſtivals and religious Solemnities; of the Regulations of civil Policy; or the mere Courſe of human Labour and Induſtry in the Accommodation of common Life *.

I

* Toute la Société ayant un beſoin extrême de regler l'ordre de ſes jours, & de convenir des tems où il faut s'aſſembler, ſe repoſer, ou travailler en commun, l'ecriture Symbolique fut tout particulièrement utile à cet égard, par la commodité de quelques marques qui étant expoſées en public, annonçoient les Fêtes & les Travaux d'une façon ſimple & uniforme. Hiſtoire du Ciel. Tom. I. p. 60. On nommoit le ſoleil Oſiris. Ce mot ſignifioit l'inſpecteur, le Cocher ou le Conducteur, le Roi, le Guide, le Moderateur des aſtres, l'Ame du Monde, le Gouverneur de la Nature. Et c'eſt parce qu'on donnoit ce nom & cette Fonction au Soleil, qu'on exprima par la Figure d'un homme portant un Sceptre, p. 61, 62. & ſuiv. Ce Gouverneur purement Figuratif a été pris pour un homme qui avoit vécu ſur la terre, & eſt pris pour un Dieu dans l'ecriture qui reſte ſur les Monumens, p. 63. Quand on voulut ſignifier la terre qui enfante & nourit toute choſe, on choiſit l'autre Sexe. La Femme qui eſt mere & nourice étoit une image naturelle de la terre. Celle-ci fut donc peinte avec ſes Productions ſous la forme d'Iſha, ou d'Iſis. Ce Symbole étoit commode, parce que les changemens de la Nature, & les diverſes productions de la terre, qui etoient ſans doute le ſujet des communes Actions de Graces, pouvoient aiſément être exprimées par les divers Ornemens qu'on donnoit a cette femme, p. 68, & ſuiv. Les Egyptiens déſignoient *le Travail* par la Figure d'un Enfant, qu' Oſiris & Iſis affectionnent, d'un fils bien-aimé qu'ils

I REMEMBER (ſaid I) to have heard ſomething of ſuch an Hypotheſis as you deſcribe being lately publiſhed to the World by a *French* Author; which, with Allowance for that ſtraining Humor which is inſeparable from Syſtem, is not, I am told, ill defended. But pray what is the Foundation of this Scheme? for the Author, I ſuppoſe, would not oppoſe his ſingle Judgment to the unanimous Senſe of Mankind in this Affair, without ſome cogent Reaſons for doing ſo. Let me hear what is his Noſtrum,

qu'ils ſe plaiſent à combler de biens. Enſuite par les differentes formes qu'ils faiſoient prendre à cet enfant, ils exprimoient ingénieuſement la Conduite, les operations ſucceſſives, les traverſes, & les Succès du labourage. Hiſt. du Ciel. p. 75. & ſuiv.—La paix & la police parmi les citoiens apres les recoltes, & dans la joye qu' inſpire le repos de l' hyver—voila le vrai ſens de notre Symbol d'Harpocrate. Hiſt. p. 92. Le Peuple Egyptien prit peu a peu l' Oſiris pour ce qu'il preſentoit à l' oeil, c'eſt à dire pour un homme. Ils prirent Iſis pour une Femme; & l' Enfant qu'elle nourit pour un Enfant, pour le fils d'Oſiris & d'Iſis. —Prenant donc ces Figures au pié de la lettre, ils les regardérent comme des Monumens de leur Hiſtoire Nationale. Hiſt. du Ciel. p. 133, 134. Après avoir trouvé dans l'abus des Figures ſymboliques priſes pour des Objets reels, l'origine des habitans que l' Egypte a imaginés & placés dans le ciel, s'il ſe trouve encore que les Dieux des autres Nations, & les autres ſuperſtitions dont nous n' avons point parlé, ſoient une propagation ſenſible des Idées & des pratiques Egyptiennes, la Facilité de rappeller tant d' égaremens à un principe fort ſimple, fera voir de nouveau la juſteſſe du principe, quoique dès a preſent il paroiſſe ſuffiſamment démontré. Hiſt. p. 146.

ſtrum, *Hortenſius*, and upon what Principles does he erect his very new Explication of Theologic Antiquity?

UPON a Piece of falſe and exploded Philoſophy (replied he) in the firſt Place, *Philemon* * ; then a Series of his own Viſions; and laſtly a forced Teſtimony of ſeveral tortured Facts. But the whole, I ſhould confeſs to you, ſupported by a copious Set of Eaſtern Etymologies, correſponding ſo exactly to his Purpoſe †, that one ſhould hardly know how to withſtand ſuch a Weight of Evidence, were not the Nature of it a little ſuſpicious, as having been ſometimes known to prove equally on both ſides of a Queſtion ‡. But notwithſtanding all I have been ſaying, *Philemon*, if you would conſider this Author's Performance

* On a un aſſez bon nombre de preuves qui tendent a faire voir, que la raiſon naturelle pour laquelle la vie des hommes d'avant le Deluge etoit beaucoup plus longue que la nôtre, venoit de ce que le ſoleil ne quittant point alors l'Equateur, c'étoit une ſuite néceſſaire que la température d'air fût uniforme, & la fecondité de la terre non-interrompue. Hiſt. p. 10.

† See Hiſtoire du Ciel at large.

‡ Compare this Author's Derivation of the Name *Oſiris*, from *Ochoſi-erets* Dominium Terræ, with Monſieur *Fourmont*'s as above from *Hoſcheiri*, l'habitant de Seir. Both different from the learned *Voſſius*'s, from *Schichor*, or *Sior*, one of the Scripture Appellations of the River *Nile*. See Voſſ. de Orig. & Prog. Idol. Vol. I. p. 692.

mance as, what it in ſtrict Truth is, a mere ideal Amuſement, or more learned kind of Romance, the Peruſal of it, I believe, would not be unentertaining to you at ſome Leiſure Hour. The Scheme is prettily enough fancied, and the Execution of it is conducted with a good deal of Art and Ingenuity.

So much the worſe, (ſaid I) *Hortenſius*, in my Opinion. Art and Ingenuity, tho' they are no where perhaps better ſhewn, than in the Support of Paradoxes, are yet certainly moſt unpardonably miſemployed, when they are exerciſed to ſuch a purpoſe. One would wiſh every Author to be a dull one, whom one finds ingaged in a falſe Cauſe; ſince going ingeniouſly wrong is too ſeldom found to be going ſingly ſo. But what, in the Name of Wonder, could tempt our Author, *Hortenſius*, upon no better Grounds than you have repreſented, thus to ſet himſelf to refine away one of the ſeemingly plaineſt, and moſt ſtrongly atteſted Facts in Antiquity? Surely a Man muſt have an uncommon Love of Paradox, to ſuppoſe the Pagan Altars were thus univerſally erected to *unknown Gods* *. Or, that the *Egyptians* in particular could ſo far loſe the Meaning of a Language of their own compoſing, and which always continued to be in ſome

* Acts xvii. 23.

degree of Uſe amongſt them, as to miſtake a Set of Hieroglyphical Repreſentations, for ſo many proper hiſtoric Characters. A Syſtem of Emblems, Creatures altogether of their own Imaginations, for a Genealogy of Heroes; of whom they had both circumſtantial Records, and alſo, as you was obſerving, many viſible Memorials in the ſeveral Cities called after their Names in *Egypt*, that they were all, as an ingenious Writer ſpeaks upon a like Occaſion, "once fairly exiſting in this World *."

THERE is moreover (returned he) this very unfortunate Circumſtance for this Gentleman's Hypotheſis, preſerved to us by ſome of the antient Writers, in the religious Hiſtory of *Egypt*; that the *Egyptians* were wholly Strangers to Images of human Form in the Furniture of their Temples, or Places of Worſhip †. From whence tis obvious to remark, that it could not be ſuch an *Hieroglyphical Oſiris* and *Iſis* as is here ſuppoſed that gave Birth to the *Hiſtorical* ones. But

* Author of the Inquiry into the Life, &c. of *Homer*.

† Μετα δε τα προπυλαια ὁ Νεως· ξοανον δ' ἐχων ουδεν, η ουκ ανθρωπομορφον, αλλα των αλογων ζωων τινος· Strab. Geograph. lib. 17. p. 805. Ed. Caſaub. Κακει γαρ αυτος μεν ὁ νεως καλλιστος τε, και μεγιστος, λιθοις τοις πολυτελεσιν ησκημενος, και χρυσω και γραφαις διηνθισμενος· ενδον δε ην ζητης του θεου, η πιθηκος εστιν, η Ιβις, η τραγος, η αιλουρος· Lucian. Imag. p. 592. Edit. Bourd.

But that the *Oſiris* and *Iſis* whom the *Egyptians* worſhipped muſt have been originally two proper *hiſtorical Perſonages*; whom they were uſed, as will be ſhewn more at large in its Place, to repreſent by Animal-Symbols, and not by human Figures. Till, in a Courſe of Time, Mythology, having inveſted them with many *phyſical* or *natural*, over and above their *hiſtoric* Characters, gave occaſion to thoſe Groteſque Repreſentations of them in human Form, which occur ſo frequently in the *Egyptian* Monuments; and from whence our Author, I believe, took the Hint of his whole Hieroglyphic Syſtem. An Hypotheſis, I may juſt obſerve, which he was the readier to eſpouſe, as it flattered his over-great Delicacy in the Problem of the human Apotheoſis, by affording him a leſs groſs and offenſive Solution of it, than that which is generally received. He could not think of letting Men run directly and all at once into ſo palpable an Abſurdity in their Religion, and was therefore for bringing them about to the ſame End with ſomewhat more of Compaſs and Ceremony. And now, *Philemon*, having I think, in paſſing ſufficiently eſtabliſhed the general Hiſtoric Truth of our Heroes Characters, let us proceed, as we had began, with the more remarkable Particulars of them. They are recorded by the *Egyptians* to have been the firſt Ci-

vilizers of their Country both in a moral and natural Account. They reduced the ſavage Barbarity of their Times to a Senſe of Humanity, Diſcipline, and public Order. They taught the Practice of Building, Agriculture, and Plantation, with the Preparation and Uſe of Bread-Corn, Wine, and Medicine, before unknown in *Egypt*. They made Laws for the Aſſignment of Property amongſt their Countrymen, and for the Reſtraint of mutual Violence and Injuſtice, which they took care to have inforced by ſuitable Penalties annexed to the Breach of them. They were the general Promoters, or Incouragers of mechanic Ingenuity, and manual Arts; and of whatever had the Appearance in any Degree of a public Improvement *. At the ſame time their Views

* Πρωτον μεν γαρ (Φασι τον Οσιριν) παυσαι της αλληλοφαγιας το των ανθρωπων γενος· ευρουσης μεν Ισιδος τον τε του πυρου και της κριθης καρπον (φυομενου μεν, ως ετυχε, κατα την χωραν μετα της αλλης Βοτανης, αγνουμενου δε ὑπο των ανθρωπων·) του δε Οσιριδος επινοησαμενου την τουτων κατεργασιαν των καρπων· Diod. Sic. Bib. lib. 1. p. 13. Ὡς δε τω Μηνι τουτω τω πρωτω γενομενω Βασιλει χερσον γεγονεναι το απειργμενον· τουτον μεν ευ αυτω πολιν κτισαι ταυτην, ἡτις νυν Μεμφις καλεεται. Herod. lib. 2. cap. 99. Κτισαι δε Φασι τους περι τον Οσιριν πολιν εν τη Θηβαιδι τη κατ' Αιγυπτον εκατομπυλον· Τους δε μεταγινεστερους αυτην ονομαζειν Διος πολιν, ενιους δε Θηβας. Diod. Sic. lib. 1. p. 14. Φασι δ' Αιγυπτιοι την Ισιν Φαρμακων τε πολλων προς ὑγεια

ευρετην

Views were not confined to *Egypt* alone; but whilſt *Iſis*, with the Aſſiſtance of *Hermes*, or *Mercury*, a Perſon in great Eſteem with them both, was appointed to preſide in the Direction of Affairs at home, *Oſiris*, with a Party of his Friends and Adherents, travelled much into foreign Parts; every where, as he paſſed, circulating uſeful Arts, and Inventions for the Service of common Life; leaving Traces behind him of his Humanity and public Spirit, and introducing a general Poliſh and Civility *. One would think,

ευρετην γεγονεναι, και της ιατρικης επιστημης μεγαλην εχειν εμπειριαν. Ibid. p. 22. Θειναι δε φασι και νομους την Ισιν, καθ' ους αλληλοις διδαναι τους ανθρωπους το δικαιον, και της αθεσμου Βιας και ὑβρεως παυσασθαι δια τον απο της τιμωριας φοβον. Ibid. p. 13. Γενεσθαι δε Φιλογεωργον τον Οσιριν, ευρετην δ' αυτον γενεσθαι της αμπελου, και την εργασιαν του ταυτης καρπου προσεπινοησαντα, πρωτον οινου χρησασθαι, και διδαξαι τους αλλους ανθρωπους την τε φυτειαν της αμπελου, και την χρησιν του οινου, και την συσκομιδην αυτου και τηρησιν. Diod. Sic. Bib. lib. 1. p. 14. Προτιμασθαι δε παρα τω Οσιριδι και τη Ισιδι τους τας τεχνας ανευρισκοντας, η μεθοδευοντας τι των χρησιμων· διοπερ εν τη Θηβαιδι, χαλκουργειων ευρεθεντων και χρυσειων, οπλα τε κατασκευασασθαι δι ὡν τα θηρια κτεινοντας, και την γην εργαζομενους, φιλοτιμως εξημερωσαι την χωραν. Ibid. p. 14. Confer Plut. de Iſide & Oſiride p. 356.

* Τον δ' ουν Φασι τα κατα την Αιγυπτον καταστησαντα, και την των ὁλων ηγεμονιαν Ισιδι τη γυναικι παραδοντα, ταυτη μεν παρακαταστησαι συμβουλον τον Ερμην· Ibid. p. 15. Τον δε Οσιριν λεγουσιν, ὡσπερ

think, a Perſon of this Character ſhould meet with no Enemies. But the Event proved otherwiſe. For after *Oſiris* had governed ſome time in *Egypt* to the Satisfaction of all who wiſhed well to their Country, his Brother *Typhon*, a Perſon of an undiſciplined and turbulent Spirit, either thro' Envy of his Reputation, or upon ſome private Quarrel to his Perſon, formed a Deſign upon his Life; which, through the Help of a Faction he had ingaged to his Purpoſe, he ſoon found Opportunity to accompliſh *. The Conduct of the Murder is ſomewhat differently related by Hiſtorians; but in all Accounts it ſtands attended with many aggravating Circumſtances of additional Inhumanity †. The Loſs

περ ευεργετικον ουτα και Φιλοδοξον στατοπεδον μεγα συστησασθαι, διανοουμενον επελθειν ἁπασαν την οικουμενην, και διδαξαι το γενος των ανθρωπων την τε της αμπελου φυτειαν, και του σπορου του τε πυρινου και κριθινου καρπου· ὑβολαμβανειν γαρ αυτον ὁτι παυσας της αγριοτητος τους ανθρωπους, και διαιτης ἡμερου μεταλαβειν ποιησας, τιμων αθανατων τευξεται δια το μεγεθος της ευεργεσιας. Ibid. p. 15.

* Φασι γαρ νομιμως Βασιλευοντα της Αιγυπτου τον Οσιριν ὑπο Τυφωνος αναιρεθηναι του αδελφου, Βιαιου και ασεβοῦς οντος· Diod. Sic. Bib. lib. 1. p. 18.

† Διελοντα (φασι τον Τυφανα) το σωμα του φονευθεντος εις ἑξ και εικοσι μερη δουναι των συν επιθεμενων ἑκαστω μεριδα· βουλομενον παντας μετασχειν του μυσους, και δια τουτο νομιζοντα συναγωνιστας ἑξειν και Φυλακας της Βασιλειας Βιαιου. Ibid. p. 18. Του δε Οσιριδος

Loſs of a Perſon ſo valuable to *Egypt* as *Oſiris* raiſed a public Concern amongſt the *Egyptians*, with a ſutable Reſentment againſt the guilty Inſtruments of his Death. *Iſis* immediately formed a Party on the behalf of herſelf, and her Son *Horus*, for the revenging her deceaſed Huſband's Murder; and, having greatly the Advantage of Numbers in her Cauſe, brought *Typhon* and his Faction to their deſerved Puniſhment *. *Oſiris*, as the beſt Teſtimony of their Reſpect the *Egytians* could now offer him, had Funeral Honors decreed him by the common Voice of his People; which were performed with all the Demonſtrations of a national unfeigned Mourning. In the Celebration whereof, the Tranſports of public Reverence and Affection to his Memory ran ſo high, that the Ceremony of his Obſequies was concluded in that of his Apo-

εκμετρησαμενου λαθρα το σωμα, και κατασκευασαντα ωρος το μεγεθος λαρνακα καλην και κεκοσμημενην περιτ]ως, εισενεγκειν εις το συμποσιον· ησθεντων δε (των παροντων) τη οψει και θαυμασαντων, υποσχεσθαι τον Τυφωνα μετα παιδιας, ὁς αν εγκατακλεισθεις εξισωθειη, διδοναι δωρον αυτω την λαρνακα· εμβαντα Οσιριν κατακλιθηναι· Plut. de Iſ. & Od. p. 356.

* Την δε Ισιν, αδελφην ουσαν Οσιριδος και γυναικα, μετελθειν τον φονον, συναγωνιζομενου του παιδος αυτης Ωρου· ανελουσαν δε τον Τυφωνα, και τους συμπραξαντας, Βασιλευσαι της Αιγυπτου. Diod. Sic. Bib. Lib. 1. p. 18.

Apotheoſis *. For from an unwillingneſs to relinquiſh all Intereſt at once in their favourite Hero, added, it may be, to ſome confuſed Tradition they had amongſt them of a Life after Death, the *Egyptians* perſuaded themſelves upon this Occaſion, that *Oſiris* might yet have it in his Power (and then they could not doubt its being in his Inclination) to be propitious to his late-loved Country, in ſome ſecret way of Communication with it. They accordingly converted, as we may ſay, his Sepulchre into his Altar †. And

* Την δε Ισιν (φασι) αναζητειν το σωμα, εκ τουτου δε και πολλας ταφας Οσιριδος εν Αιγυπτῳ γενεσθαι· οἱ δε ου φασιν· αλλα ειδωλα ποιουμενην διδοναι καθ' ἑκαστην πολιν, ὡς το σωμα διδουσαν, ὁπως παρα πλειοσιν ἐχη τιμας. Plut. de Iſ. p. 358. Βουλομενην δε (φασι την Ισιν) την τ' ανδρος ταφην ἀδηλον ποιησαι και τιμωμενην παρα πασι την Αιγυπτον κατοικουσι, συντελεσαι το δοξαν τοιουτῳ τινι τροπῳ· ἑκαστῳ των μερων περιπλασαι αυτην τυπον ανθρωποειδη ἐξ ἀρωματων και κηρου· εισκαλεσαμενην δε κατα γενη των ἱερεων, ἐξορκισαι παντας μηδενι δηλωσειν την δοθησομενην αυτοις πιστιν· κατ ἰδιαν δε ἑκαστοις ειπειν ὁτι μονοις ἐκεινοις παρατιθεναι την του σωματος ταφην· και των ευεργεσιων ὑπομνησασαν, παρακαλεσαι, θαψαντας εν τοις ἰδιοις τοποις το σωμα, τιμᾶν ὡς θεον τον Οσιριν. Diodor. Sic. p. 18. Ἐξ ανθρωπων εις θεους μεταστανται τον Οσιριν (φασι) τυχειν ὑπο Ισιδος και Ἑρμου θυσιων και των αλλων των ἐπιφανεστατων θεων τιμων. Diod. loc. cit.

† Ενθεν αυτοις και οἱ των θεων οικοι νεκρων ειναι ταφοι μνημονευονται. Euſeb. Præp. Evang. lib. 2. cap. 5. p. 70.

And having made him the Offering there of their moſt affectionate Acknowledgments for his paſt Services, intreated of him the Continuance of his Favour towards them in ſuch future Inſtances of his Aſſiſtance, as the Intereſts of *Egypt* might require. And as a farther Ingagement upon him to this purpoſe, they agreed to meet annually at his Tomb, at each periodical Return of the Seaſon of his Interment; and to perform the like public Lamentations, as upon the preſent Occaſion, to his injured Manes; renewing at the ſame time upon their Minds, by certain expreſſive Ceremonies, the Memory both of his Sufferings and Benefactions; and recognizing him for their Patron or Tutelar Demon by more ſolemn and explicite Acts of national Worſhip *. *Iſis* lived ſome time after the De-

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* *Plutarch* informs us, that in the Iſland *Niſitane*, one of the Places which laid claim to the Interment of *Oſiris*, Ἐνι καιρω τους ἱερεις διαϐαινοντας εναγιζειν, και καταστεφειν το σημα μηδικης φυτου περισκιαζομενον· De Iſ. & Oſ. p. 359. Ægypti Incolæ in adytis habent Idolum Oſiridis ſepultum hoc annuis luctibus plangunt. Jul. Firmic. de Error. prof. Rel. cap. 2. Και μνημην του παθεος (Αδωνιδος) τυπτονται τε ἑκαστου ετεος (οἱ Βυϐλιοι) και θρηνεουσι, και σφισι μεγαλα πενθεα ανα την χωρην ἱσταται·— Εισι δε ενιοι Βυϐλιων οἱ λεγουσι παρα σφισι τεθαφθαι τον Οσιριν τον Αιγυπτιον· και τα πενθεα ουκ ες Αδωνιν, ἀλλ' ες Οσιριν πρησσεσθαι. Lucian. de Syr. Deâ, p. 1058.

ceaſe of *Oſiris*; and, continuing to indear herſelf all along to the *Egyptians* by a Series of repeated Kindneſſes towards them, was upon her Death admitted to a Participation with him in his Divine Honors *. And from henceforth the annual Celebration of the funeral Rites of theſe two Deified Heroes became a ſtanding Solemnity of the *Egyptian* Religion. This was the true Meaning and Origin of that σκυθρωπασμός, as *Plutarch* very ſignificantly terms it, gloomy and diſmal Air, which ſome of the chief religious Ceremonies of *Egypt* carried with them †; and of the *Egyptians* performing many things in honor of their Gods reſembling the common Practices at a Funeral ‡. Of which, when the once proper Humanity of theſe Divine Perſons was thought neceſſary to be diſowned or concealed, the Allegoriſts of Antiquity were put to ſo many Shifts and Refinements, to give any paſſable Reaſon and Solution,

* Την δε Ισιν φασι μετα την Οσιριδος τελευτην διατελεσαι τον λοιπον του βιου χρονον Βασιλευουσαν ωρμιμωτατα, και ταις εις τους αρχομενους ευεργεσιαις ἁπαντας ὑπερβαλομενην· ὁμοιως δε και ταυτην μεταστασαν εξ ανθρωπων τυχειν αθανατων τιμων. Diod. Sic. Lib. 1. p. 18, 19.

† Και διδωσιν ὁ καιρος ὑπονοιαν επι των καρπων τη αποκρυψει γενεσθαι τον σκυθρωπασμον. Plut. de Iſ. & Oſ. p. 378.

‡ Πολλα θαπτουσιν ὁμοια και πενθουσιν επραττον, Plut. de Iſ. & Oſ. p. 379.

Solution, as the Times grew more knowing and ſceptical *.

For their Comfort however (ſaid I) *Hortenſius*, they could frame no Solution ſo little defenſible, as the true one, of this Matter. In which, by a kind of judicial Infatuation, as one might be almoſt tempted to ſuſpect in the Caſe, upon the Inſtitutors of the human Apotheoſis, the Divinity of the two Heroes who were the moſt conſiderable Subjects of it, ſtood effectually diſproved by the moſt important Article of their own Worſhip.

Moſt evidently (returned he) it did ſo. And had the human Apotheoſis been the Work of political Art and Contrivance, the Ritual of this Hero-worſhip would, no doubt, have been more happily conſtituted. But as it took place firſt in rude and uninlightened Ages, the Simplicity of thoſe Times deified its Heroes, juſt as it found them, with all the Circumſtances of their Humanity about them; and had no ſuſpicion of Conſequences. But to proceed, *Philemon*, with the Hiſtory of our two Deified Heroes; it being a general Perſua-

* Ὥσπερ ἀμελεῖ καὶ τὸ δεικνυμένον αὐτοῖς εἰδώλῳ ἀνθρώπου τεθνηκότος ἐν κιβωτίῳ περιφερόμενον οὐκ ἐστιν ὑπόμνημα τοῦ περὶ Ὀσιριδος πάθους, ἀλλ' οἰομένους παρακαλεῖν αὐτοὺς χρῆσθαι τοῖς παροῦσιν καὶ ἀπολαύειν, ὡς πάντας αὐτίκα μάλα τοιούτους ἐσομένους. Plut. de Iſ. & Oſ. p. 357.

ſion in *Egypt*, as has been obſerved, that they had yet *ſomewhere* a more ſubſtantial Being, than in the Breaſts of their Survivers, Curioſity naturally put the *Egyptians*, fond of dwelling as much as poſſible upon a favourite Subject, upon conjecturing *where*. And the Reſult of this Speculation was, to aſſign them their Reſidence in the two greater Lights of Heaven; theſe being, not only in themſelves the nobleſt Scenes of Action they could imagine for them, but likewiſe, as might be thought, the moſt ſuitable ones at the ſame time to their diſtinct perſonal Characters *.

THIS was rather a piece of Compliment, (ſaid I) I ſhould think, at firſt, tho' afterwards it might by degrees grow up into ſerious Belief. It was a natural Topic of Panegyric, to ſay of *Oſiris* and *Iſis*, that they had been, as it were, another Sun and Moon to *Egypt*; had held forth in their Conduct a kind of reflex Image of the beneficent Virtues of thoſe divine Luminaries. I am ſenſible Compariſons of this Nature will not reliſh in our modern Days, as having been the ſtale Subject of Compliment to conſiderable Perſons with every cold

* Ὧν (θεων επιγειων) ενιους φασι και Βασιλεις γεγονεναι κατα την Αιγυπτον· τινας δε αυτῶν μεν ὁμωνυμους ὑπαρχειν τοις ουρανιοις· και ωρωτον μεν Ἡλιου Βασιλευσαι των κατ' Αιγυπτον ὁμωνυμον ονται τω κατ' ουρανον αστρω· Diod. Sic. Lib. 1. p. 12, 13.

cold Invention from the moſt diſtant Memory. Mr. *Addiſon*, with his uſual Delicacy of Ridicule, prettily rallies this trite Style of panegyrizing, in his ſecond Dialogue *of the Uſefulneſs of antient Medals.* "There is ſcarce a great Man", (ſays he) in that incomparably entertaining Piece, "whom the Sun has ſhone upon, that "has not been compared to him. I look "on Similes as part of his Productions. I "do not know, whether he raiſes Fruits "or Flowers in greater Number" *. But when the Simile was new, *Hortenſius*, it was by no means, I think, inelegant. And the conſidering our Heroes in ſuch a Correſpondency of Character, as is here ſuppoſed, to the two principal Luminaries of Heaven, might eaſily be improved into giving them a local Reſidence in them, as the Reward of their analogous Services to *Egypt*.

YOUR Fancy is not amiſs (replied *Hortenſius*) though, I muſt own, I chuſe rather to abide by my own Account of this Matter. The *Egyptians*, I believe, uſed more the Language of the Eyes, than that of the Ears, for the Vehicle of their Heroes Praiſes. Their Mode of panegyrizing their deceaſed Benefactors ſeems rather to have been a kind of Dramatic Repreſentation of their Services, than a Rhetorical Deſcription

* *Addiſon*'s Works, 4to. Ed. Vol. I. p. 492.

tion of them. To ſignify, for example, that *Iſis* was the Inventreſs of Bread-corn in *Egypt*, they uſed to invoke her every Year over the firſt Reapings of their Harveſt *. And in their devotional Solemnities to her Honor they ſhewed a Specimen of the Grain ſhe had diſcovered for them, as the Regiſter of their Obligations to her upon this account †. In the ſame *dramatic* Turn of Thinking, when they celebrated annually the Obſequies of *Oſiris*, they carried about a Cheſt, the Repreſentation of their Heroe's-Coffin ‡; as alſo certain Symbols of Huſbandry and Plantation, to ſignify his having been the Introducer of theſe uſeful Arts among them ‖. A Ceremony which ſubſiſted in the Rituals of antient

* Μαρτυριον δε φερουσι της ευρησεως των ειρημενων καρπων το τηρουμενον παρ' αυτοις εξ αρχαιων νομιμον· ετι γαρ και νυν, κατα τον θερισμον, τους πρωτους αμηθεντας σταχυς θεντας τους ανθρωπους, κοπτεσθαι πλησιον του δραγματος, και την Ισιν αναkαλεισθαι· Diod. Sic. Bib. Lib. I. p. 13.

† Παρ' ενιαις δε των πολεων και τοις Ισειοις εν τη πομπη μετα των αλλων φερεσθαι πυθμενας πυρων και κριθων, απομνηματα των εξ αρχης τη θεω φιλοτεχνως ευρεθεντων· Diod. loc. cit.

‡ Ὡσπερ αμελει και το δεικνυμενον αυτοις ειδωλον ανθρωπου τεθνηκοτος εν κιβωτιω περιφερομενον· K T Λ. Plut. de Iſid. & Oſ. p. 357. Και την ἱεραν κιστην οἱ στολισται και οἱ ἱερεις εκφερουσι χρυσουν εντος εχουσαν κιβωτιον. Ibid. p. 366.

‖ The Van, and the Thyrſus uſed in the Bacchic Rites, which were originally the *Egyptian* ones to *Oſiris*. See Plut. de Iſide & Oſ. p. 364-5.

antient Paganiſm to its lateſt Periods; tho', when the real Intendment of it was thought adviſeable to be ſuppreſſed, it was contrived to reſolve it into a myſtical one. From which *dramatic Manner* of the *Egyptians* in the chief Offices of their Heroic Worſhip, it came to paſs, as I conceive, that all the Capital Services of the antient Heroic Superſtition in ſuch other Pagan Nations as we are beſt acquainted with, were of the nature of a *Religious Drama*; conſiſting for the moſt part of certain *μιμηματα*, *ſenſible Repreſentations* of particular more remarkable Paſſages in the Hiſtory and Adventures of the Patron Hero *. Of this kind, for example, were the Rites performed by the *Phœnicians* to *Adonis* and *Venus*; by the *Phrygians* to *Attis* and *Cybele*; the *Thracians* to *Bacchus*; the *Cretans* to *Jupiter*; the Inhabitants of *Samothrace* and *Lemnos* to the *Dii Cabiri*; and

* Ἡ δε τιμωρος Οσιριδος αδελφη και γυνη ου περιειδε τους αθλους και τους αγωνας ους ανετλη, και πλανας αυτης, και πολλα μεν εργα σοφιας, πολλα δε ανδριας, αμνηστιαν ὑπολαβουσα και σιωπην, αλλα ταις ἁγιωταταις αναμιξασα τελεταις, εικονας και ὑπονοιας, και μιμημα των τοτε παθηματων καθωσιωσεν· Plut. de Iſ. & Oſ. p. 361. Την δε μητερα τουτων (Ἡλιου και Σεληνης) τους οχλους θεου τε νομισαι, και Βωμας ἱδρυσασθαι, και ταις δια των τυμπανων και κυμβαλων ενεργειαις, και τοις αλλοις ἁπασι απομιμουμενους τα περι αυτην συμβαντα, θυσιας και τας αλλας τιμας απονειμαι· Diod. Sic. Bib. Lib. III. p. 190. 191.

and by the People of *Sicily* and *Attica* to the ſame divine Perſons under the more diſtinguiſhed Appellations of *Ceres*, *Pluto*, and *Proſerpine*.

You are then of opinion (interpoſed I) *Hortenſius*, that the Mode of Worſhip with all theſe Countries was indeed *Egyptian*, but the Objects of it certain of their own local Gods.

I am ſo, (reſumed he) *Philemon*; and the general Account I would give of the matter is in few Words this. The ſeveral Nations we are here ſpeaking of were, there is great Reaſon to think, at different times the Seats of certain originally *Egyptian* Colonies. Theſe Colonies, no doubt, carried along with them the Religion of their Mother Country throughout the whole Courſe of their Migrations into foreign Parts. The Rites of *Oſiris* and *Iſis*, being a principal Article of this Religion, would of conſequence be punctually obſerved by them, wherever they might chance to reſide at the ſtated Periods of their Celebration. Now theſe Rites, as has been ſhewn, ran much upon the dramatic Strain. A Circumſtance, which would naturally draw the Attention of ſuch foreign Spectators of them, amongſt whom they might at any time happen to be performed. The Novel Appearance of

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theſe Solemnities would raiſe a ſtrong Curioſity in their Obſervers to know what was the meaning of them. And being told, that the Celebraters of them came from *Egypt*, a Country, as they might have heard, much famed for the Wiſdom of its Inſtitutions; and that the Deſign of them was to do Honor to certain *Egyptian* Gods, by a dramatic Repreſentation of the chief Paſſages of their once Mortal Hiſtory; they would from hence probably take the Hint of this Religious Mimickry themſelves, and dramatize, if one may ſo call it, after the *Egyptian* Mode, in the Worſhip of their own national Divinities.

BUT how (ſaid I) do you reconcile this Account of things, *Hortenſius*, which you have been here giving, with what you obſerved ſome time ago, of the antient Hiſtorians being unanimouſly agreed, that as well the chief Gods, as Worſhip of Paganiſm, came originally from *Egypt*?

I AM not aware (returned he) *Philemon*, that I have any ſuch Aſſertion as this to anſwer for. What I obſerved to you upon the Teſtimony of the antient Hiſtorians was, that the *Egyptians* were eſteemed the firſt of Mankind who uſed *the ſacred Names*, των θεων ονοματα, or, as it is elſewhere expreſſed by the ſame Author, (*Herodotus*) the θεων

επωνυμιας, uſual characteriſtic Appellations under which the Pagans worſhipped moſt of their chief Gods *; and who did moreover, as *Lucian* tells us, relate λογους ἱερους "Hiſtories of Divine Perſons." And this they might very naturally be in-asmuch as they were a People policied, and accommodated with the more neceſſary Arts of Life, (the Inventors whereof they had characteriſtically deified for their Recompence) from the moſt diſtant Memory of things in Pagan Antiquity. But it will by no means follow, that, becauſe the *Egyptians* were for the moſt part the original Proprietors of the received *Characteriſtic Appellations* of the chief Pagan Gods, they were ſo likewiſe of their ſeveral Perſons; Theſe Appellations being rather ſpecific than individual; Titles, as one may ſay, of Office, not merely Names of Men; and what might therefore be applied in common to *different* Perſons, who in different Ages and Countries of the Pagan World had acted under a *competent Analogy* of Hiſtoric Character †.

To

* Δυωδεκα τε θεων επωνυμιας ελεγον πρωτους Αιγυπτιους νομισαι, και Ἑλληνας παρα σφεων αναλαβειν. Herod. Lib. II. cap. 4.

† Nam Joves plures in priſcis Græcorum literis invenimus. ap. Cic. de Nat. Deorum Lib. 3. cap. 16. Volcani item Complures. ibid. cap. 22. Mercurius unus Cœlo patre, Die Matre natus. Alter Valentis et Coronidis Filius. Tertius Jove tertio natus et Maja. Quartus Nilo patre. Quintus, quem colunt Phenetæ

To illuſtrate this Matter, *Philemon*, by a particular Inſtance—One of the Characteriſtic Appellations under which the *Egyptians* deified their favourite Goddeſs *Iſis*, was that which the *Greeks* have pretty near ly preſerved to us in their *Demeter*, and anſwers in our Language to *the Mother of Plenty* *. The Reaſon of giving this Appellation to her was her having taught the *Egyptians* the Art of ſowing their

 Lands.

Pheneatæ, qui Ægyptiis dicitur Leges et Literas tradidiſſe. ibid. cap. 22. Dianæ item plures——Venus Prima Cœlo et Die nata. Altera Spumâ procreata. Tertia Jove nata et Dionâ. Quarta Syria Tyroque concepta, quæ Aſtarte vocatur, quam Adonidi nupſiſſe proditum eſt—Minerva prima, quam Apollinis Matrem ſupra diximus. Secunda orta Nilo quam Ægyptii Saitæ colunt. Tertia illa, quam Jove generatam ſupra diximus. Quarta Jove nata et Coryphe. Quinta Pallantis Filia, &c. De Nat. Deor. Lib. 3. cap. 23. Jupiter igitur generali Regum omnium nomine accipitur. Voſſ. de Orig. & Prog. Idololatriæ, Lib. 1. cap. 14. Poſtea tot prope Neptuni, quot Principes Inſulares: quod ex Poetarum fabulis, ſi ad hiſtoriam eas referamus, non obſcurè cognoſcitur. Ac præter iſtos et Continenti fuere Neptuni ſui: in his principes, qui arte equeſtri excellerent. Voſſ. Lib. 1. cap. 15. Saturnos dictos, qui nobilium Regum Vetuſtiſſimi condiderunt Urbes et Populos. Ac proinde non unum ſed Plures fuiſſe Saturnos; quorum Patres Cœli, Filii vero Joves. Nomina igitur hæc fuerunt dignitatis——Analoga, potius quam Æquivoca. Xen. de Equivoc. ap. Kirch. Œd. Ægypt. Vol. 1. p. 180. Hinc tot Cœli, Saturni, Joves, Hercules, Rheæ, Tellures, Veſtæ, Junones, ob facinorum quæ perpetrarunt Similitudinem. Kirch. Œd. Ægypt. p. 180, 181.

* Dimitir.

Lands. Some Ages afterwards *Ceres*, having done the ſame thing to the People of *Attica* in *Greece*, when ſhe came to be deified there, went under the ſame common Denomination with the *Egyptian Iſis*. And this is what the *Greek* Writers mean, when they ſpeak of *Iſis* and *Ceres* as the ſame Goddeſs *. Not *perſonally* ſuch to be ſure, for in this reſpect, their Hiſtories, as related by the ſame Writers, put a notorious Difference between them †: But merely (to ſay nothing here of their united *Phyſical* Characters in Antiquity) in a *Theological* Conception of them; as being worſhipped by the different Countries in which they lived upon the ſame common Reaſons of Apotheoſis; the one, as has been already obſerved, having introduced into *Attica*, what the other had before into *Egypt*, the three invaluable Bleſſings of Corn, Property, and Legiſlation. So

* Ισις δε εστι κατα την Ἑλληνων γλωσσαν Δημητηρ. Herod. Lib. II. cap. 59. Και τον μεν Οσιριν Φασι μεθερμηνευομενον ειναι Διονυσον, την δε Ισιν εγγιστα πως Δημητραν. Diod. Sic. Lib. I. p. 13.

† Μετα δε της κορης ἁρπαγην μυθολογουσι την Δημητραν μη δυναμενην ευρειν την θυγατερα, λαμπαδας εκ των κατα την Αιτνην κρατηρων αναψαμενην, επελθειν επι πολλα μερη της οικουμενης· Των δ' ανθρωπων τους μαλιστα ταυτην προσδεξαμενους ευεργετησαι, τον των πυρων καρπον αντιδωρησαμενην. Diod. Sic. Lib. 5. p. 288. The Diſtreſſes we find, of *Ceres* were wholly occaſioned by the Rape of a favorite Daughter; Whereas thoſe of *Iſis* were all upon account of the Murder of her Huſband.

So that upon the whole (ſaid I) the επωνυμιαι, or Head-Characters only, of the Heroic-Theology of the *Greeks*, was all that was properly *Egyptian*; the Subjects of the Apotheoſis with them being no other, for the moſt part, than ſuch of their own Heroes, who had taught them the firſt ſimpler Arts and Accommodations of Life.

Unless (returned he) to their *Theologic-Characters* borrowed, as we ſay, from their ſynonymous *Egyptian* Predeceſſors in the Apotheoſis, we may add ſometimes a few Circumſtances of Hiſtory derived to them from the ſame Quarter. For the *Greeks*, we know, were not over-nice in the Chronology of their Heroic-Divinities; but in order to do honor to their Reputation would plunder any Age or Country for the Materials of it *. In the mean time, to return once more to the ſacred Affairs of *Egypt*—The *Demoniſm*, as has been related, of *Oſiris* and *Iſis*, or in other Words their poſthumous Superintendence over the Intereſts of their Country, being once believed and eſtabliſhed there; a like Perſuaſion would ſoon come to obtain of ſuch

* Hic enim veterum mos erat, quo magis admirandæ eſſent Virtutes eorum quos in Deos retuliſſent, varios Eximiæ Virtutis in unum conflare, unique omnium Geſta attribuere, quod difficile non erat in rebus ab Ætate ſuâ remotis, et geſtis in Terrâ longè diſſitis. Voſſ. de Orig. et Prog. Idol. Lib. 1. cap. 19.

ſuch other departed Perſons, as had been of any conſiderable Eminence in their Generations. And Death, as we have ſeen in the Caſe of their two principal Heroes, being looked upon by the *Egyptians* as a Change of Scene only, not of Manners or Diſpoſition; hence it became a general Practice with them to deify their favorite Dead under that *particular Character* of *Uſefulneſs* which they had ſuſtained whilſt living. And accordingly the ſeveral deified Inventors of the more neceſſary Arts of Life were conſidered by them after their Deceaſe as the eſpecial Patron Gods of their own perſonal Inventions. As in the Caſe of the *Egyptian Vulcan*, *Veſta*, *Diana*, *Mercury*, and almoſt every other principal Character of the Heroic Divinity; excepting that of *Neptune*, as *Herodotus* ſeems to have thought; a Deity, to whom from their religious Averſion to the Sea, and being, in the firſt Settlement of their Empire at leaſt, no great Sailors, they gave little or no Share of their devout Regards. And indeed ſo prevailing was the Opinion with them, of the chief Qualities of the *Hero* ſubſiſting in the *Demon*, that even *Typhon* himſelf had by this means a Place in their Syſtem of Deity; the *Egyptians*, tho' they hated his Memory, yet dreading his Malice, and accordingly indeavoring to divert or appeaſe it by ſuch deprecatory Rites of Worſhip,

as

as they conceived moſt ſuitable to the ſuppoſed peſtilent Humor of this miſchievous Divinity.

'Tis upon theſe Grounds (ſaid I) *Hortenſius*, as I ſuppoſe, that the Antients have been led to expreſs their Idea of Superſtition under the Word δεισιδαιμονια, *diſidemoniſm*, as we may call it, or the unreaſonable and extravagant Fear of Demons.

Undoubtedly; (replied he) and when you conſider, *Philemon*, that the Heroic Apotheoſis with the antient Pagans was indeed nothing more, than tranſlating in any particular Inſtance the *human Character* into the *Divine one*; you will from hence eaſily obſerve, that as well the Faults, as Excellencies, of every ſuch Character, would naturally accompany the Proprietor of it into his *Deified*, or *Demon-State*; and the Imperfections of the *Man* make a Part of the Idea of the *God*. From which low and groveling Conception of their Divinities, ſuch abject and illiberal Services muſt of courſe, with all weaker and more devout Tempers eſpecially, enter into the Worſhip of them, that one cannot wonder the Antients ſhould make that their Head Character of falſe Practice in Religion, which they would neceſſarily find to be one of the capital

capital Sources of it; *Diſidemoniſm*, as your Expreſſion is, or an anxious Sollicitude to pleaſe certain ſuppoſed Demon Powers.

Now we are upon this Subject (interrupted I) *Hortenſius*, there is a favorite Paſſage of mine in *Lucian*'s Treatiſe of Sacrifices, which owes, I have often thought, its chief Force and Elegancy to a kind of *Luſus* upon this antient Character of Superſtition. "There is ſcarce any Man, "(ſays the Author) to be met with, I "ſhould imagine, ſo thorowly diſinclined "to Mirth, but muſt be provoked to laugh "at ſome of the popular Ceremonies of "Religion. But before he would venture "to laugh in a Subject ſuppoſed ſo ſerious, "he would be apt to aſk himſelf, whether "it really was *ſuch?* and whether the "Zealots in theſe unworthy Sacra could "deſerve to be called ευσεβεις, *Pious Per-*"*ſons*, or were not more properly, θεοις "εχθρους και κακοδαιμονας? not in an *active* Uſe of the Words here, as his Tranſlator coldly repreſents him, "Diis "inimicos, atque infelices ac Genios Ma-"los;" but in a much more emphatical and *paſſive* one, "Perſons under the *Diſ-*"*pleaſure* and *judicial Infatuation* of the "Gods, rather than ingaged in the *Wor-*"*ſhip* of them", or, as we might ſay, "*Demo-*

" *Demoniacs* inſtead of *Demoniſts* in the " Offices of their Devotion." For this I take to be the true Idea of the Place; which I the rather incline to eſpouſe, as it gives a more pointed and ludicrouſly ſatiric Turn to the whole Sentiment, agreably to the known Manner of this witty and ſceptical Writer *.

* Ἃ μεν γαρ εν ταις θυσιαις οἱ ματαιοι πραττουσι, και ταις ἑορταις, και προσοδοις των θεων, και ἁ αιτουσι, και ἁ ευχονται, και ἁ γινωσκουσι περι αυτων, ουκ οιδα, ει τις ὑυτω κατηφης εστι και λελυπημενος, ὁστις ου γελασεται, την αβελτηριαν επιβλεψας των δρωμενων· και πολυ γε οιμαι προτερον του γελᾶν προς ἑαυτον εξετασει, ποτερον ευσεβεις αὐτους χρη καλειν, η τουναντιον θεοις εχθρους, και κακοδαιμονας, ὁιγε ὑυτω ταπεινον και ἀγενες το θειον ὑπειληφασιν, ὡστε ειναι ανθρωπων ενδεες, και κολακευομενον ἡδεσθαι, και αγανακτειν αμελουμενου; Lucian de Sacrificiis, p. 182. Edit. Bourd.—Compare with this Paſſage from *Lucian* the following ones from *Ariſtophanes*.

Ειτα τον θεοισιν εχθρον βυρσοδεψην Παφλαγονα
Ἡνιχ' ἡρεισθε στρατηγον, τας οφρυς συνηγομεν,
Κα'ποιουμεν δεινα. In Nub. p. 160. Edit. Biſet.

Blepſid. Μῶν ου κεκλοφας, αλλ' ἡρπακας;
Chremyl. Κακοδαιμονᾶς. In Plut. p. 40.

Chremyl. Ὡς μεν γαρ νυν ἡμιν ὁ Βιος τοις ανθρωποις διακειται,
Τις αν ουκ ἡγοιτ' ειναι μανιαν, κακοδαιμονιαν τ'ετι μαλλον. In Plut. p. 52.

YOUR Correction here, (reſumed *Hortenſius*) may very probably be a juſt one; the Thought is certainly improved by it. But at preſent we have other Affairs upon our hands, than critical Diſquiſitions. We have already, you know, conſidered the *ſame Theologic-Character* as ſubſiſting in very *different Perſons*; let us now, in paſſing, turn the Tables a while, and conſider the *ſame* Perſon, as ſometimes veſted with very *different Theologic-Characters*. We have the Teſtimony of *Plutarch*, that the *Minerva* of *Sais* in *Egypt*, where was her Temple, you know, with the ſo much famed Inſcription, was eſteemed to be the ſame Perſon with *Iſis* *. And we are told by *Herodotus*, that the chief Feſtival of this *Minerva* was that of the λυχνοκαια, the *Feſtival of Lamps*; celebrated by a public Illumination of the City of *Sais* by Veſſels of lighted Oil †. If we lay theſe Obſervations together, and withal recollect what has been remarked of the generally *dramatic* Turn of the *Egyptian* Sacra, we ſhall perhaps find Reaſon to conclude, that the *Minerva* we are ſpeaking of was only *Iſis* under a more *detached* and *particularized*

* Το δ' εν Σαι της Αθηνᾶς (ἣν Ισιν νομιζουσιν) ἐδος επιγραφην ειχε τοιαυτην. Εγω ειμι Κ. Τ. Λ. Plut. de Iſ. & Oſ. p. 354.

† Vide Herod. Lib. II. cap. 62.

rized Idea of her; as the Perſon who taught the *Egyptians* the Plantation of the Olive Tree, and the uſe of Oil for Artificial Lights to ſupply the Abſences of the Sun. And as *Iſis* is thus abundantly confirmed to us to have been the *Minerva* of the *Egyptians*, I have ſometimes been inclined to ſuſpect ſhe was their *Venus* likewiſe. *Herodotus*, *Diodorus Siculus*, and *Plutarch* all agree to inform us, that the *Egyptians* were no Strangers to this Goddeſs. *Plutarch* repreſents her as the Wife of *Typhon*. But had ſhe really ſtood in this Relation to a Perſon ſo generally hated in *Egypt*, the *Egyptians*, I am apt to think, would hardly have afforded her ſo *mild* a *Character of Divinity*, as is here ſuppoſed. I am rather therefore for conſidering *Venus*, as I have ſaid, as the divine Character of *Iſis*, in quality of the *great Mother of her Country*; or as the Perſon, who by her Aſſiſtance to *Oſiris* in forming the *Egyptians* into Society, and giving them ſalutary Laws and Diſcipline, had laid the Grounds and Foundation of their national Strength and Populouſneſs: As, in the ſame way of Thinking, her Huſband, I perſuade myſelf, was conſidered by the *Egyptians*, as *the Father of his Country*, in the obſcene Ceremony of the *Phallephoria*; a Practice probably, in its firſt Inſtitution, emblematically commemorative of *Oſiris*, the great Founder of

the *Egyptian* Polity, under this diſtinguiſhed Notion or Regard *.

Is then (ſaid I) the chaſt and continent *Iſis*, the very Model, as ſhe is uſually repreſented, of conjugal Affection and Fidelity, reduced at laſt to the Diſſoluteneſs of a *Venus*, one of the looſeſt Characters in all Sacred Antiquity, and chief Scandals of Religious Paganiſm?

POSSIBLY (returned he) the Character might not originally be ſo ſcandalous as you ſeem to apprehend. How do you know, but the more diſreputable Parts of it may have been the Additions of After-Ages, and owing to the Miſconducts of ſome later Subjects of it, than the Perſon we are at preſent concerned with? tho', ſhould you inſiſt upon it after all, *Philemon*, that a certain Mixture of Intrigue is abſolutely neceſſary to the Idea of a *Venus*, a Critic in Reputations might, for aught I know, find Grounds of Suſpicion even againſt *Iſis* herſelf. This at leaſt is pretty remarkable in her Hiſtory, that during the Abſence of *Oſiris* from his Kingdom, a Seaſon, one would think, of all others the fitteſt for a Rebellion againſt him to break out

* Ἑλλησι γαρ δη Μελαμπους εστι ἐξηγησαμενος του Διονυσου τουνομα, και την Θυσιην, και την Πομπην του Φαλλου. Herod. Lib. II. cap. 144.

out in, we hear nothing of *Typhon* and his Faction. All, it ſeems, went well and peaceably in *Egypt*, ſo long as *Iſis* was the ſupreme Manager there *. Might not one be tempted to ſuſpect here, that the Charms of her Perſon were the Security of her Government? and that Love was the great ſoothing Power which could thus effectually compoſe the reſtleſs Turbulency of Ambition? a Suſpicion, which is increaſed by what *Plutarch* reports to us, of the unjuſtifiable Partiality of *Iſis* towards *Typhon*, even after his having been the Murderer of *Oſiris*; when, upon *Horus*'s delivering him up to her as his Captive, ſhe was prevailed upon to give him his Liberty †. You ſee, *Philemon*, there is need of ſome Candor to believe, that even the continent *Iſis*, as you call her, was wholly proof againſt certain tender Failings; and, however affectionate ſhe is repreſented to have been to the Memory of her Huſband, had not taken ſome modiſh Freedoms in his Life-time.

BUT

* Ὑστερον δε γην ωασαν ἡμερουμενον επελθειν (Οσιριν) Τυφωνα δε ἁπαντος μεν ουθεν νεωτεριζειν, δια το την Ισιν ευ μαλα φυλαττεσθαι και ωροσεχειν εσχρατως εχουσαν· επανελθοντι δε δολον μηχανασθαι. Plut. de Iſ. & Oſ. p. 356.

† Την μεν ουν μαχην επι ωολλας ἡμερας γενεσθαι, και κρατησαι τον Ὡρον· τον Τυφωνα δε την Ισιν δεδεμενον ωαραλαβουσαν ουκ ανελειν, αλλα και λυσαι

και

BUT the *Egyptians* (ſaid I) I ſuppoſe, were not over-ſcrupulous in Characters: or at leaſt their Gratitude was too ſtrong for their Cenſoriouſneſs; and they could eaſily overlook a few Slips in Conduct, in a Perſon of *Iſis*'s extraordinary Uſefulneſs and Beneficence.

I SEE (reſumed he) *Philemon*, you are no Friend to *Iſis* in the Capacity of a *Venus*; I will therefore change the Scene for you, and introduce her to your Acquaintance under a Character, you will probably have leſs Exception to, that of the *Egyptian Rhea*, or *Mother of the Gods*. The Manner of repreſenting this Divine Perſonage in a neighbouring Country to *Egypt*, was, as we learn from *Lucian* in his Account of the Goddeſs of *Hierapolis* in *Syria*, under the Image of a Woman wearing a Turret, or Crown reſembling the Faſhion of a Tower, upon her Head; and ſupported by Lions*. *Virgil*'s *Cybele*, you know, is alſo *turrita*, and ſeated in a Chariot drawn, we are to ſuppoſe, by the ſame kind of Ani-

και μεθειναι· τον δε Ωρον ου μετριως ενεγκειν, αλλ' επιβαλοντα τη μητρι τας χειρας αποσπασαι της κεφαλης το Βασιλειον· Plut. de Iſid. & Oſ. p. 358.

* Σημηια δε ἡ θεος τα πολλα ες Ρεην απικνεεται· λεοντες γαρ μιν φερουσι, και επι τη κεφαλη πυργοφορεει, οἱοιην Ρεην Λυδοι ποιευσι. Lucian. de Syr. Deâ p. 1062.

Animals *. Whoever was the ſtrict Perſonal Subject of this Repreſentation, I cannot help being of Opinion, the Thought of it, as one may ſay, was altogether *Egyptian*: And that the Turret and Lions were Emblems firſt made uſe of in *Egypt*, as often as *Iſis* was conſidered there as a Patroneſs of Building and political Aſſociation; one very important Conſequence whereof to Mankind was, either taming the Fierceneſs, or guarding againſt the Injuries, of the more dangerous Species of Wild Beaſts. That ſhe ſhould be ſtyled a *Mother of Gods* can be no Myſtery, if we reflect that ſhe ſeems to have led the Way in thoſe Inventions of more civilized Life, which gave the firſt Grounds of Apotheoſis to their ſeveral reputed Authors. Not to add, that ſome of theſe Deified Artiſts were probably in a literal Senſe her Children. So that the Idea which *Iſis* gives of herſelf to *Lucius* in *Apuleius*, upon his addreſſing her to reſtore him to his Humanity, has poſſibly a great deal of Theological, though but little Hiſtoric Truth in it; when ſhe tells him, " She is that Godeſs, whom all Nations worſhip under " different Views of her Character. That " the original Natives of *Phrygia* called her " *Peſſinuntica*, and the Mother of the " Gods.

* ——————Qualis Berecynthia Mater
Invehitur Curru Phrygias turrita per Urbes
Læta Deûm Parta. *Virg.*

" Gods. Thoſe of *Attica*, the *Cecropian*
" *Minerva*. The People of *Cyprus*, the
" *Venus* of *Paphos*. Thoſe of *Crete*, *Diana*
" *Dictynna*, or the Inventreſs of the Hunt-
" ing-Net. The *Sicilians*, *Proſerpine*. The
" *Eleuſinians*, *Ceres*. Others, *Juno*. Others,
" *Bellona*. Thoſe, *Hecate*. Theſe, *Rham-*
" *nuſia*. But the *Egyptians* only had her true
" Name, which was that of *the Queen Iſis**."
To conſider her again, *Philemon*, under which her more aſcertained Appellation — We left her, you know, in her departed or Demon-ſtate, removed by the fond Gratitude of her Survivors from Earth to Heaven, and reſiding in their Imaginations in the Orb of the Moon; whilſt the Soul of *Oſiris* was received, it was conjectured, into that of the Sun. Afterwards, when the *Egyptians* had applied themſelves to aſtronomical Obſervations, and it was remarked by them, that the Heliacal riſing of the Star *Sothis*, which the *Greeks* called by the Name of *Aſtrocyon*, or the Dog-Star, always preceded, and ſeemed, as it were, to

* Cujus numen unicum multiformi Specie, ritu vario, totus veneratur orbis. Me primigenii Phryges Peſſinunticam nominant Deûm Matrem. Hinc Antocthones Attici Cecropiam Minervam. Illinc fluctuantes Cyprii Paphiam Venerem. Cretes Sagittiferi Dictymnam Dianam. Siculi trilingues Stygiam Proſerpinam. Eleuſinii Vetuſtam Deam Cererem. Junonem alii. Bellonam alii. Hecatem iſti. Rhamnuſiam illi. Egyptii vero nomine appellant Reginam Iſidem. Apul. Met. Lib. II. prop. Init.

to announce to them, the approaching annual Increaſe of their *Nile*, they made *Iſis* the Compliment of ſuppoſing her to reſide in *Sothis*, as well as in the Moon; and to be the influencing Cauſe of that kind Admonition, which they yearly received from this uſeful Luminary *. *Diodorus* informs us, that ſome of the antient *Greek* Mythologiſts called *Oſiris* by the Name of *Sirius*, or the Dog Star; from whence 'tis not improbable, but the *Egyptians* had given him, as well as his Conſort, a Part in the good Offices of this their Celeſtial Monitor †. And in general, we may obſerve here once for all, that the Deification of the antient Heroes uſually paſſed under the Notion of their inhabiting particular Stars ‡; whoſe

* Ισις δε παρ' αυτοις εστιν αστηρ, Αιγυπτιστι καλουμενος Σωθις, Ἑλληνιστι δε Αστροκυων· Horap. Hierogl. Lib. 1. Hierog. 3. Λεγουσιν οἱ ἱερεις καλεισθαι Κυνα μεν την Ισιδος (ψυχην) ὑπ' Ἑλληνων, ὑπ' Αιγυπτιων δε Σωθιν· Plut. de Iſ. & Oſ. p. 359. Ὁτε αρα η μεν ανατελλει το αστρον ὁ κυων, συναυισχει αρα δε αυτω τροπον τινα και ὁ Νειλος, και αναχειται περι τας αρουρας. Ælian. Hiſt. Animal. Lib. X. cap. 45. Των τε αστερων τον σειριον Ισιδος νομιζουσι, ὑδραγωγον ὀντα· Plut. de Iſ. & Oſ. p. 366.

† Των δε παρ' Ἑλλησιν παλαιων μυθολογων τινες τον Οσιριν σειριον επονομαζουσι· Diod. Sic. Bib. Lib. I. pag. 11.

‡ Ου μονον δε τουτων οἱ ἱερεις λεγουσιν, αλλα και των αλλων θεων τα μεν σωματα παρ' αυτοις κεισθαι καμοντα, και θεραπευεσθαι, τας δε ψυχας εν Ουρανω λαμπειν αστρα. Plut. de Iſ. & Oſ. p. 359.

Names they from thenceforth took themſelves, and often returned the Favour in kind, by giving them their own perſonal ones, whilſt upon Earth, in requital. And thus Hero-worſhip became as it were ingrafted upon Luminary-worſhip; which in time produced frequently, as will hereafter be explained, ſuch a total Confuſion of the civil, with the natural Gods of the antient Pagans, as to make it extremely difficult to determine with any Degree of Satisfaction to oneſelf what Part of their religious Ritual had relation to one Sort of Divinities, and what to the other. Of which no one can want a ſufficient Conviction, who will be at the pains of informing himſelf, with what puzzled Induſtry *Voſſius*, and other learned Writers upon the Theology of the Antients, have labored in this imbaraſſed Subject.—— But here, *Philemon*, let me prepare you a little for a very conſiderable Change of Scene, which in the Courſe of our Speculation you are now to expect from me. Inaſmuch as, from having carried up your Thoughts to the celeſtial Regions, as the happy Reſidence of the departed *Oſiris*, and *Iſis*, I am next to bring you acquainted with them under a Conception more degrading, than even their late *human* State; I mean, " as inhabiting the Forms of certain " Brute-Animals, ſome of the leaſt honor-

" able,

" able, and reptile Species themſelves, in " time not excepted *."

A CHANGE of Scene, (interpoſed I) it muſt be owned, not a little diſadvantageous this to the Parties concerned in it. But whatever Objections they might have to make to ſuch a reduced Situation of Divinity, I aſſure you I have none to attending them in it; as it promiſes to lead you into the Article of the Symbolic-Theology of the *Egyptians*; under which Head, you know, you are to let me a little into the general Notion of their celebrated *Hieroglyphics*. A Point, I am impatient to have you ſpeak to.

As far (replied he) as we have at preſent any concern with this Matter, that is, as far as the *Hieroglyphics* ſtand connected with the ſymbolic or animal Worſhip of *Egypt*, I will give you the beſt Account of them that I can. For a nice and critical Diſquiſition of the *Hieroglyphic* Science, beſides that the Subject itſelf is not a little dark and perplexed, and would moreover too much divert our Thoughts from what they

 are

* When *Oſiris* and *Iſis* came to be confounded with the Sun and Moon, which gave them an Intereſt in all thoſe different kinds of conſecrated Animals which were conſidered as Symbols of theſe Luminaries.

are here principally ingaged in; I have the leſs Reaſon, as well as Inclination to attempt this, as I have good Grounds to believe it has already fallen into much abler Hands; and makes part of a Work ſhortly to be expected from the Preſs, the Second Volume of "the Divine Legation of "*Moſes* demonſtrated, &c." For our purpoſe then, *Philemon*, I begin with obſerving to you, that, before the Introduction of Alphabetic Characters into the World, the beſt way Men could think of to ſignify to each other their Thoughts in Writing was, either "by a direct Picture, wherever that "was practicable, of the Object they had "occaſion to deſcribe," or in other Caſes "by ſubſtituting viſible Objects for inviſible "ones, in the way of Emblem or natural "Symbol." For the Practice of writing by immediate Picture, the bare mention is a ſufficient Explication of it. For the other Method, I know not how better to repreſent it to you, than by reading you a Paſſage out of *Diodorus Siculus* upon this Subject, if you will trouble your ſelf to reach me down that Author from behind you.——'Tis here in the fourth Book of his *Hiſtorical Library*.——"But now (ſays "he) I am to take notice of the *Ethiopic* "Characters, called by the *Egyptians*, "*Hieroglyphics*. For the Make or Faſhion

"of

" of them, they reſemble the Forms of all
" ſorts of Animals; certain of the Parts
" or Members of the human Body; as
" likewiſe different kinds of Mechanical
" Inſtruments. For the Manner of Writ-
" ing with the People I am ſpeaking of is
" not *by Words*, but *Things*, which have
" their *tropical* Senſes habitually affixed to
" them in the Memory. Thus they de-
" lineate a Hawk, a Crocodile, and a Ser-
" pent; A Man's Eye, Hand, and Face;
" With other Repreſentations of a like
" nature. By a Hawk, which is a Bird
" of remarkably *ſwift Flight*, they ſignify
" *Swiftneſs*, or *Expedition at large*. Which
" Quality, in the Thing or Perſon under
" Conſideration with them, is by Uſe al-
" moſt as readily ſuggeſted to their Minds
" by the Figure of this Animal, as if it
" had been expreſſed to them in Words.
" So a Crocodile is the Emblem of Ma-
" lice. The Eye of Juſtice and Vigilance.
" The Right Hand with the Fingers ex-
" tended of Gain. The Left Hand cloſed
" of Frugality. And the like is to be un-
" derſtood of all their other Marks. For
" following with the Mind the *natural*
" *Significancy* of each Object, and having
" their Memory and Attention *well exer-*
" *ciſed* to this purpoſe, they come by de-
" grees to a ready and immediate Appre-
" henſion

" henſion of whatever is this way expreſſed " to them * ". You cannot but remark here, *Philemon*, (continued he) that the Hiſtorian all along repreſents it as the Work of Time and Pains to acquire a Facility at Underſtanding this Emblem Language. And indeed the obvious Imperfection in every reſpect of the emblematic Character, compared with the way of Writing by Letters of an Alphabet, is to me ſuch a *natural* Demonſtration, that *Hieroglyphics*, as I ſaid before, " were both " prior in the Order of Time to *Letters*, " and

* Περι δε των Αιθιοπικων γραμματων, των παρ' Αιγυπτιοις καλουμενων ιερογλυφικων, ρητεον· συμβεβηκε τοινυν τους μεν τυπους υπαρχειν αυτων ομοιους ζωοις παντοδαποις, και ακροτηριοις ανθρωπων, ετι δ' οργανοις, και μαλιστα τεκτονικοις· ου γαρ εκ της των συλλαβων συνθεσεως ἡ γραμματικη παρ' αυτοις τον υποκειμενον λογον αποδιδωσιν, αλλ' εξ εμφασεως των μεταγραφομενων, και μεταφορας μνημη συνηθλημενης· γραφουσι γαρ ιερακα, και κροκοδειλον, ετι δ' οφιν, και του εκ του σωματος των ανθρωπων οφθαλμον, και χειρα, και προσωπον· και ἑτερα τοιαυτα· ὁ μεν ουν ιεραξ αυτοις σημαινει παντα τα οξεως γενομενα, δια το ζωον τουτο των πτηνων σχεδον υπαρχειν οξυτατον· μεταφερεται τε ὁ λογος ταις οικειαις μεταφοραις εις παντα τα οξεα, και τα τουτοις οικεια, παραπλησιως τοις ειρημενοις——Ταις γαρ εν ἑκαστοις ενουσαις εμφασεσι συνακολουθεντες, και μελετη πολυχρονιω και μνημη γυμναζοντες τας ψυχας, ἑκτικως ἑκαστα των γεγραμμενων αναγινωσκουσι· Diod. Sic. Bib. Lib. III. p. 145.

" and introduced at firſt merely for want " of them," that did not the wildeſt Whimſies ſometimes find their ſerious Abetters, even amongſt Perſons otherwiſe of good Underſtanding, I ſhould be tempted to wonder, how the contrary Opinion to this could ever have met with any ſenſible Advocate. Yet ſo it has proved, *Philemon*; " and the comparative neceſſary Imperfec- " tion of Picture, to literary Characters— " their want of Verbs and connective Par- " ticles — the ſuppoſed inaccurate Way of " writing them in the firſt Ages, eaſily " open to Miſtakes of their Meaning — " the obſerved Intermixture of both ſorts " of Characters in remaining *Egyptian* " Monuments, the one inſerted to help " out the defective Senſes of the other — " (all of which I cannot but think ſtrong " Arguments of Letters being *leſs antient*, " becauſe ſo much *more uſeful* than *Hie-* " *roglyphics*") are by an Author of no leſs Diſtinction than the knowing and ingenious Mr. *Shuckford*, in his " Connection of the " Sacred and Profane Hiſtory" produced as Evidences on the quite oppoſite ſide of this Queſtion *. In ſuch very different Lights do different Perſons ſee the ſame Objects! One farther Inſtance of which, with regard to myſelf and this Writer, (for whom nevertheleſs I have a juſt Eſteem)

I

* See Shuck. Con. vol. II. p. 295-6.

I cannot help remarking here, becauſe it ſeems to me a very extraordinary one. "The Men of the firſt Ages (ſays he) "could much ſooner invent and learn a "*rude Character*, than they could acquire "Art enough to draw Pictures. And "therefore ſuch a Character, 'tis moſt pro-"bable, was firſt invented and made uſe "of *." As if the mere Eaſineſs of the Writing or Figuring part was all that was here to be conſidered, and not rather, and principally, the Eaſineſs of the Underſtanding. For in this View ſurely, the Picture of an Animal diſtinguiſhed by ſome remarkable Quality, tho' ever ſo *ill drawn*, would at leaſt bid *fairer* to ſuggeſt to Mens Minds the Idea of that Quality, than a merely *arbitrary* Mark of the ſame Quality can be ſuppoſed to do: The one kind of Subſtitute relying wholly for its interpretation upon unaſſiſted Memory; the other, (though I deny not but it was liable to be ſometimes miſtaken) having generally, as we may ſay, Nature, as well as Art, on its ſide; ſomething of an *inherent Significancy* in it; an Aptneſs of itſelf to point out its particular Meaning.

THIS is a ſtrong Inſtance (I interrupted) *Hortenſius*, of what I remember to have often heard you complain of, "Mens in-"terpreting

* See Shuck. Con. vol. II. p. 296.

" terpreting Antiquity by modern Ideas." And it ſhews evidently the falſeneſs of this Rule of Interpretation. The Author probably had his Eye upon Alphabetic Writing in his own time; of which though the Uſe be wholly founded in Memory, yet we are apt to think but meanly of a Man's Attainments, who is at a loſs to read and underſtand his own Mother Tongue at leaſt. And yet when one conſiders how much time it actually takes up to teach a Child, or an abſolutely ignorant grown Perſon, the *due* Uſe of his Letters, even *now* that the Marks of them are ready formed to his hands, with a Compendium which ſome have thought ſuper-natural — that Inſtruction this way is reduced to Rule and Method — and moreover that Language itſelf is contrived with much artificial Aſſiſtance to the Memory in the mechanical Structure and Compoſition of it — If this, I ſay, be well conſidered, *Hortenſius*, one ſhall have but little to expect from an artleſs Multiplication of *rude Characters*, in equally rude Ages, towards carrying on any competent degree of literary Commerce amongſt Mankind. In which way of Thinking one is not a little confirmed by reflecting, that in *China*, where this ſort of rude Character is made uſe of, a Man is ranked, as we are informed, amongſt the *Learned*, who underſtands a

moderate Proportion of Words only in the vulgar Language of his Country*. There is no queſtion therefore, I think, to be made, but that *Hieroglyphics* were the firſt Step Mankind gained towards Writing: Or, that the Original Way they had of communicating with one another at a diſtance was, either by ſuch a Picture, or Emblem-Character, as you have repreſented.

NATURE (reſumed he) *Philemon*, the ſureſt Guide in all Queſtions of Antiquity, if I have any Judgment this way, would ſuggeſt to them a Communication of this kind previouſly to any other. A Sentiment, which is confirmed by Fact, as well as Reaſon, if it be true, what ſome Writers upon this Subject have aſſerted to us, "that the original Faſhion of Letters with "the *Egyptians*," (a People amongſt the firſt who uſed, if they did not invent an Alphabet)

* By all I can gather out of ſo many Authors as have written of *China*, they have no Letters at all, but only ſo many Characters, expreſſing ſo many Words; theſe are ſaid by ſome to be Sixty, by others Eighty, and by others Sixſcore Thouſand. The Learning of *China* therefore conſiſts firſt in the Knowledge of their Language. Sir *W. Temple*'s Works, Fol. p. 201. The Number of Letters they (the *Chineſe*) uſe is exceſſive—It is true he who can make good uſe of Twenty Thouſand is a good Scholar. *Navarette*'s Account of the Empire of *China*, Book III. chap. 11. In Collect. of Voyages, &c. Vol. I. p. 131.

phabet) " was taken from the Forms, Mo-
" tions, or Poſtures of Animals before ap-
" plied to *Hieroglyphical* Repreſentation *". Thus, for Inſtance, the firſt Letter of their Alphabet, 'tis ſaid, is only the Beak of the *Ibis* placed croſs-wiſe upon its two Legs: As their Delta is the Legs of the ſame *Ibis* conſidered together with the Line of the Earth which they include in ſtanding upon it †. But to let this paſs, as a matter perhaps more curious, than certain; and without entering farther into the Age of *Hieroglyphic* Writing; the Grounds of it, we have ſeen, are laid in " the practicable Sub-
" ſtitution of one Thing, for another, upon
" the account of a certain Similitude or
" Analogy of their reſpective Qualities:
" Of preſent, and viſible Objects for paſt,
" or diſtant ones: Or, more comprehen-
" ſively, of Ideas of the Senſes, for thoſe
" of Memory or Underſtanding." In which View of the matter, *Philemon*, the natural Conception, I think, which offers itſelf is, that in the *Hieroglyphic*, as in every other Species of Art, the eaſieſt Productions were doubtleſs the firſt: Or, that the moſt ſim-

* Invenimus primam literarum Egyptiarum στοιχειωσιν ex quatuordecim literis fuiſſe concinnatam, ut recte quoque *Clemens*, *Euſebius*, cæterique tradunt, ex ſacrorum Animalium formâ, inceſſu, aliarumque corporis Partium ſitibus deſumptam. Kircher. Obeliſc. Pamph. p. 125.

† See Kircher, as before.

ple kinds of ſymbolical Repreſentation are, generally ſpeaking, to be eſteemed the moſt antient ones. Thus, of two of the Repreſentations which the *Egyptians* are related to have made of a Month, the one "by "a Moon with the Horns turned down-"wards, and the other by a Branch of the "Palm-Tree *;" that of the Moon, one cannot avoid thinking, muſt have been firſt brought into Uſe: It being much more obvious to obſerve, "that the Moon to-"wards the end of her Period always ap-"pear'd in ſuch a manner," which was the reaſon of this Symbol; than, "that it was "the Nature of the Palm-Tree to put out a "new Shoot preciſely every Month," which was the Foundation of the other. So again, a Mole might much more eaſily come to ſignify Blindneſs †—Two Men joining Hands, Concord ‡—A Man armed, and ſhooting Arrows, a Riot ‖—Feet walking upon

* Μηνα γραφοντες, Βαϊν ζωγραφουσιν, (Αιγυπτιοι) η σεληνην επεστραμμενην εις το κατω· Βαϊν μεν, της προειρημενης επι του Φοινικος αιτιας χαριν (δια το δενδρου τουτο μονον των αλλων, κατα την ανατολην της σεληνης, μιαν Βαϊν γενναν. Horap. Hierog. Lib. I. Hierog. 3.) Σεληνην δε επεσταμμενην εις το κατω, επειδη, φασιν, εν τη ανατολη προς το ανω τοις κερασιν εσχηματισθαι, εν δε τη αποκρυψει, εις το κατω τοις κεραϊ νευειν. Horap. Hierog. lib. 1. Hierog. 4.

† Horap. lib. 2. Hierog. 63.

‡ Lib. 2. Hierog. 11.

‖ Ibid. Hierog. 12.

upon Water, an Impoſſibility *—A Hog, a Perſon transformed by his Debaucheries into a Beaſt †—or a Hawk upon the Wing, the ſwift Courſe of the Wind ‡—The Analogies in all theſe Inſtances being of the moſt ſimple and ſtriking Kinds—Than the the Number 1095, the Complement of Days to the Term of three Years, could come to ſignify Silence, "becauſe a Child "which does not get the uſe of its Speech "in that time, never afterwards obtains "it ‖." Or, a She-Panther to ſtand for a concealed Villain, "becauſe that Animal "hunts for its Prey ſecretly, and keeps in "the Scent of its Breath, to avoid giving "the Creature it has a Deſign upon any "ſufficient notice of its Approach §." Or again, than a Man's never ſtirring out of his own Doors could be expreſſed by an Ant, and the Wings of a Bat, "becauſe the "Feathers

* Horap. lib. 1. Hierog. 58.

† Horap. Hierog. lib. 2. Hierog. 37.

‡ Lib. 2. Hierog. 15.

‖ Αφωνιαν γραφοντες, αριθμον χιλια ενενηκοντα πεντε γραφουσιν. ὁς τριετους εστι χρονου αριθμος, ἐκ τριακοσιων ἑξηκοντα πεντε ἡμερων του ετους ὑπαρχοντος· ἐφ' ὁν χρονου μη λαλησαν το παιδιον σημειουται ὡς παραπεποδισμενον τη γλωσση. Horap. Hierog. Lib. I. Hierog. 28.

§ Ανθρωπου εμφωλευοντα ἑαυτω κακιαν, και αποκρυπτοντα ἑαυτον, ὡστε μη γνωσθηναι τοις ιδιοις, θελοντες σημηναι, Παρδαλιν ξωγραφουσιν· αυτη γαρ κρυφα τα ζωα θηρευει, μη συγχωρουσα την ιδιαν οσμην αφιεναι, καταδιωκτικην ουσαν των αλλων ζωων. Horap. Lib. II. Hierog. 90.

" Feathers of a Bat placed at the Entrance " of an Ant's Neſt keeps all the Ants ſtrictly " confined there *."—Or laſtly, than the *Cucuba* could be made the Emblem of Gratitude " becauſe it was obſerved of " that Bird, that it took a very particular " Care of its aged Parents; building them " a Neſt in the ſame Place where it had " been hatched and brought up itſelf; " aſſiſting them with its Beak at the time " of loſing their old Feathers; and fur- " niſhing them with Food till that Seaſon " was over, and they were again able to " ſupport themſelves †"—And yet, *Philemon*, the Analogies here concerned, are not, I aſſure you, a fiftieth part ſo refined, as numberleſs others I could mention to you, upon which much of this *Hieroglyphic* Language was founded. But I the rather inſtance in the Particulars before us, becauſe they relate altogether to common Life,

* Ανθρωπου απροϊτον βουλομενοι σημηναι, μυρμηκα και πτερα νυκτεριδος ζωγραφουσιν· διοτι τιθεμενων των πτερων εις την νεοσσιαν των μυρμηκων, ου προερχεται αυτων τις. Horap. Hierog. Lib. 2. Hierog. 64.

† Ευχαριστιαν γραφοντες, κουκουβαν ζωγραφουσι· διοτι τουτο μονον των αλογων ζωων επειδαν υπο των γονεων εκτραφη, γερασασιν αυτοις την αυτην ανταποδιδωσι χαριν· εν ῳ γαρ υπ' αυτων εξετραφη τοπῳ νεοσσιαν αυτοις ποιησας, τιλλει αυτων τα πτερα, τροφας τε χορηγει, μεχρις ου πτεροφυησαντες οι γονεις βοηθειν εαυτοις δυνηθωσιν. Horap. Lib. 1. Hierog. 55.

Life; which was unqueſtionably the firſt Subject Mankind had occaſion to write about.

So that (I interrupted) in the times we are ſpeaking of, to be able to write and read well, *Hortenſius*, a Man muſt have been a very tolerable *Naturaliſt*. Methinks, I cannot help obſerving here, the learning one's Letters in theſe Days muſt have been a far more agreable, as well as uſeful Imployment, than it is in our modern Ages; ſince inſtead of going to one's *Horn-Book*, or one's *Primmer*, for the Character and Compoſition of A's and B's, the Scholar had the far nobler Volume of Nature before him; and could not improve in *Words* without a correſpondent Progreſs in *Things*. 'Tis pity this double Improvement is not a little more conſulted in modern Education. Language, we are very truely told, is the great Key to Knowledge; but as the matter is too commonly managed with us, 'tis really a great while before it opens any part of it to our Minds. How much time is by moſt People in their Youth ſpent in mere mechanical Reciting, before any farther uſeful Information is ſo much as thought of for them! whereas, there is ſomething of Fancy and Ingenuity in the firſt Aſpect of the *Hieroglyphic* Science: in being able to improve every Object one meets with into an Inſtru-

ment of mutual Correſpondence; and to make the mute, and even inanimate part of the Creation, thus ſignificantly expreſs our Minds for us. I think this Art is now loſt to the World. We hear indeed ſometimes of Letters conveyed to Perſons at a Diſtance by certain *feathered* Meſſengers; And a Dog, if I miſtake not, in a late celebrated Inſtance, was thought to ſignify a Treaſonable Correſpondence: But neither of theſe Caſes are at all equal to the Point in queſtion. We ſeem to conſider the World of Animals as deſigned wholly for groſſer Purpoſes, than thoſe of converſing by them; unleſs now and then we ſet them on talking and moralizing in a human Voice and Accent, and think proper to give a Lecture to our own Species under ſome or other of their borrowed Forms.

THE Ingenuity, (returned *Hortenſius*) *Philemon*, of the *Hieroglyphic* Art was in time the Ruin of it; as it gave occaſion to that total Abuſe of the Inſtitution of *Symbolic* Writing, by which, what was intended to explain Mens Thoughts, became the moſt effectual Means of perplexing them; and what began in eaſy and familiar Uſe, degenerated in concluſion into unintelligible Myſtery: inaſmuch as Men of a more thoughtful and ſpeculative Complexion grew by degrees to write ſo much *above the com-*

mon Level, as to be underſtood by no body but themſelves. Which was more eſpecially the Caſe, after the *Hieroglyphics*, as we ſhall ſee, became ſacred; and, from being practiſed at firſt in the humble Concerns of ordinary Life, were applied moſtly to the higher Subjects of Science or Divinity. In the mean while, one Inconvenience which ſoon attended this *Hieroglyphical* way of Writing, and which doubtleſs aſſiſted to the Abuſe I have been mentioning, was the Number of equivocal Senſes which the ſame Word often had, grounded upon the *different* Qualities or Conceptions of the ſame ſenſible Repreſentation. Thus, as we learn from the ſixth *Hieroglyphic* in the Collections of *Horapollo*, " a Hawk was either " the Sun, or Exaltation, or ſome extraor- " dinary Fall, or Preeminence, or Blood, " or Victory. The Sun; as being an Ani- " mal remarkably prolific, and long-lived; " and moreover from its great Strength of " Sight ſeeming to be a kind of natural " Image of him. Exaltation; becauſe the " Hawk by his perpendicular Flight eaſily " riſes above any other Bird. Falling; " from the quick and immediate Deſcents " he is obſerved to make from the greateſt " heights. Preeminence; becauſe he is of a " ſuperior Nature to other Animals of the " Feathered Kind. Blood; becauſe that " is thought to be his Drink and Nouriſh-

" ment. Victory; becauſe he has the Art " to overcome any Bird who encounters " him, though ſuperior to him in Strength, " by turning himſelf upon his Back in the " Air, whenever he is in danger of being " worſted by his Antagoniſt." So again the *Hieroglyphic* of the *Beetle* ſtood " for " any thing produced from a ſingle Cauſe; " for Birth; or the beginning to exiſt; " for the World; a Father; and a Man." The Reaſons may be ſeen in the tenth *Hieroglyphic* of the Author juſt mentioned. In like manner the *Vultur* was made to ſignify " a Mother; or Sight; or a Boundary " of Land; or Preſcience; or a Year; or " the Heavens; or Mercy; or Unity;" as the ſame Writer informs us in his eleventh *Hieroglyphic*.

THE being ſometimes thus equivocal (ſaid I) is but a Defect which the *Hieroglyphic* Language has in common with moſt other Languages; eſpecially, if the Orientaliſts are to be relied on in this matter, with the more Antient and Eaſtern ones; in which, I am ſure, the ſame Word has often as many ſeveral, and ſometimes widely different Meanings, as the moſt complicated *Hieroglyphic* you can pitch upon. But the Context in ſuch Inſtances of both kinds is the Rule by which to aſcertain the Senſe: and in moſt Caſes, I ſhould think, would

do it with tolerable Exactneſs. But after all, *Hortenſius*, it was but an idle ſort of Oeconomy in the Coiners of this *Hieroglyphic* Language, to be thus frugal of their Words, when they had the whole compaſs of Nature in their power, to furniſh themſelves with a ſufficiently copious Expreſſion.

THEY were like other Framers of Languages, (replied he) more ſtudious of Abridgment than Perſpicuity; and willing moreover, I ſuppoſe, to ſave the Trouble of writing more than was abſolutely neceſſary. Tho', on the other hand, *Philemon*, if one conſiders, a little Parſimony *here* is at leaſt more excuſable than in Alphabetic Language; ſince it was a far eaſier matter for them to acquaint themſelves with the *united Properties* of the ſame Objects, than to diſtinguiſh to a ſufficient Degree the *appropriated Peculiarities* of different ones. And yet again, upon ſecond Thoughts, I know not, but it had ſtood them in almoſt as little Expence of Time and Obſervation, (and I am ſure it had been a far more uſeful Application of both) thus to have inlarged in many Caſes their Stock of Words in this Emblematic Language, as it muſt have done to contract them in the Method they have taken, by attending to ſuch *nice* and *intricate* Analogies of Objects to one another, as are the Ground of theſe *Hieroglyphical*

Equivocations *. But this, tho' it would have added greatly to the Uſefulneſs of *Hieroglyphical* Writing, would haven taken off much from the *Myſtery* of it: An End, to which the *Hieroglyphics* came in time to be ſo almoſt univerſally applied, that many People have been led to believe they were originally invented for this very Purpoſe; and that the Progreſs of them was not, as I have repreſented it, from common Life, into Subjects of Religion, but, on the contrary, from Religion, into common Life.

THE Courſe you have aſſigned them, (ſaid I) is, I think, both the moſt natural in

* Μονογενες δηλουντες, η Κοσμου, Καυθαρου ζωγραφουσι· μονογενες μεν, ὁτι αυτογενες εστι το ζωον, ὑπο θηλειας μη κυοφορουμενον·——Κοσμον δε, επειδη κοσμοειδη την γενεσιν ποιειται·——Επειδαν ὁ αρσην Βουληται παιδοποιησασθαι, Βοος αφοδευμα λαβων, πλασσει σφαιροειδες παραπλησιον τω κοσμω σχημα· ὁ εκ των οπισθιων μερων κυλισας απο ανατολης εις δυσιν, αυτος προς ανατολην Βλεπει, ἱνα αποδῶ το του κοσμου σχημα· αυτος γαρ απο του απηλιωτου εις λιβα φερεται· ὁ δε των αστερων δρομος απο λιβος εις απηλιωτην· ταυτην ουν την σφαιραν κατορυξας εις γην κατατιθεται επι ἡμερας εικοσι οκ]ω, εν ὁσαις και ἡ σεληνη ἡμεραις τα δωδεκα ζωδια κυκλευει· ὑφ' ἡν απομενον ζωογονειται το των καυθαρω γενος· τη ενατη δε και εικοστη ἡμερα ανοιξας την σφαιραν, εις ὑδωρ Βαλλει· ταυτην γαρ την ἡμεραν νομιζει συνοδον ειναι σεληνης και ἡλιου, ετι δε και γενεσιν κοσμου· ἡς ανοιγομενης εν τω ὑδατι ζωα εξερχεται· Horap. Hierog. lib. 1. Hierog. 10.

in itſelf, and the moſt ſuitable to the known reſerved and involved Manner of the *Egyptian* Prieſthood; who, had the *Hieroglyphics* been originally a learned or ſacred Character *only*, would hardly, I perſuade myſelf, have ſuffered them to be afterwards proſtituted to common and ordinary Subjects.

And yet, (returned he) in the Accounts we have of the Obeliſks of *Seſoſtris* and *Rameſſes*, Perſons who lived long after the Introduction of Symbolic, or Animal Worſhip into *Egypt*, we meet with *Hieroglyphics* applied to very different Purpoſes from Religious ones. Of two of thoſe of the former of theſe Princes, we are informed, that their Inſcriptions ſet forth, "the Extent of "his Power, the flouriſhing Condition of his "Revenue, and the Number of his Vic-"tories †." And, wherever he made any Conqueſt, we are told, his Practice was to erect Pillars, upon which, together with other Inſcriptions proper to the Occaſion, he left behind him, "certain obſcene Em-"blems of the *manly* or *effeminate* Tem-"per of the conquer'd Nation *." For the

† Τοτε μεγεθος της δυναμεως, και το πληθος των προσοδων, και τον αριθμον των καταπολεμηθεντων εθνων. Diod. Sic. Bib. Lib. I. p 37.

* Diod. Sic. Bib. Lib. I. p. 35.

the Inſcription of the famed Obeliſk of *Rameſſes*, now ſtanding at *Rome*, you are not to be informed, *Philemon*, that it is of the *Kind* we are now ſpeaking of; and yet we know from *Hermapion*'s Tranſlation of it, that it is a mere Piece of fulſome Panegyric to that vain Monarch; ſuch as gives one, I have often thought, a much more contemptible Idea of his Subjects, than it does a great one of himſelf *. I am ſenſible the learned *Kircher* condemns *Hermapion*'s Tranſlation here, as contrary to the whole Tenor and Genius of the *Hieroglyphic* Character; which, as he tells us, "was never uſed to record the Praiſes "and Victories of Kings, but confined "wholly to ideal and intellectual Mat-"ters †." But Antiquity, a much better Judge doubtleſs in the Caſe, is unanimous in thinking otherwiſe: And this Author, 'tis well known, has his head ſo full of the myſterious Wiſdom of the *Egyptians*, that he will needs wreſt every thing to ſome recondite Meaning with them. As if a Darkneſs, like that which was once providentially brought upon their Country, had univerſally ſpread itſelf over their Underſtandings; and becauſe their *Hieroglyphics* had

* Vide Am. Marcell. Lib. 17.

† Kirch. Obeliſc. Pamphyl. p. 151. Doctrinam Hieroglyphicam, non Regum laudes & victorias continere, ſed ſolas res ideales & intellectuales.

had too often an intricate Intendment, therefore they could never poſſibly have an obvious one. But 'tis amuſing enough to obſerve, how Men will labor for a Favorite Hypotheſis.

As the learned Author (interpoſed I) was ſo determined, it ſeems, to aſſert the every where high and important Conſtruction of the *Hieroglyphic* Writing, I think he had fully anſwered his purpoſe here, by conſidering the Inſcription we are ſpeaking of as of a more *raiſed* and *dignified* kind, from its relation to the Subject and Conduct of *Majeſty*; inſtead of going thus againſt the Senſe of Antiquity, no leſs than that of the Tranſlator, to ſupport his recondite Syſtem.

To ſay the Truth, *Philemon*, (returned he) I have often thought the Monument in queſtion, with thoſe other *Egyptian* Monuments which remain to us, inſcribed in the *Hieroglyphic* Character, to be ſo far from Evidences of the univerſally ſublime and myſterious Senſe of the *Egyptian Hieroglyphics*, that I would not deſire a ſtronger Evidence of the contrary; Inaſmuch as they give us good Reaſon to believe, that *Hieroglyphics* in their firſt Inſtitution in *Egypt*, were, as has been ſaid, nothing more than the *Original Character, or common Writing of the Country*; which, having obtained a Reverence from this very Cir-

Circumſtance of its Antiquity, was for this reaſon uſed in all *Public Inſcriptions*, even after the Introduction of Alphabetic Writing for more ordinary and familiar Intercourſe. But however the *Hieroglyphics* may have been ſometimes indifferently applied to Civil, or Sacred, ſo they were but Public Uſes, 'tis time for us to conſider them under the more diſtinguiſhed Notion of a *Religious* Character or Expreſſion; the only one, as has been before obſerved, in which they properly relate to our preſent Speculation. And here, amidſt the ſeveral ridiculous, inadequate, or unnatural Accounts which have been given us of the Origin of Symbolic Worſhip in *Egypt*, the Principles we have been eſtabliſhing will afford us, I think, the only true, however ſimple a Solution of this Problem.

THE ſimpler, (ſaid I) *Hortenſius*, certainly the more probable. The beginnings of Science never lie very deep: Subtilty and Refinement are laborious Operations, and require Time and repeted Thought for their Production.

YOU will obſerve then, (proceeded he) that as *Hieroglyphics* with the *Egyptians* were the *Original Writing of common Life*, one of the Subjects, which would often occur to be expreſſed by them, would be

Perſonal

Perſonal Characters. Accordingly in the Collection of them by *Horapollo*, we find certain *characteriſtic* Emblems appropriated to expreſs almoſt all the more common and ordinary Turns of the human Temper, and Paſſages of human Conduct. Thus to ſignify a Woman's continuing in her firſt State of Widowhood, the *Egyptians* deſcribed a particular kind of a black Pidgeon *; as they did a Swallow for a Man who had left all his Poſſeſſions to his Children †. To have been naturally of a meek and compoſed Diſpoſition, but provoked by ill Uſage, was repreſented by the Emblem of a Pidgeon with its Tail erected ‡. To have deſerted one's Family thro' Want, by that of a She-Hawk which had juſt laid its Eggs ‖. The attempting things beyond a Man's Ability, was ſignified by a Bat **. The having brought Inconveniences upon himſelf, by a Beaver *†. The being irreſolute and unequal to himſelf, by an Hyæna *‡. When they would characterize any Perſon who had never been out of his own Country, or Diſtrict, they figured him

* Horap. Hierog. Lib. 2. Hierog. 32.
† Ibid. Hierog. 31.
‡ Ibid. Hierog. 48.
‖ Ibid. Hierog. 99.
** Ibid. Hierog. 52.
*† Ibid. Hierog. 65.
*‡ Ibid. Hierog. 69.

him with the Head of an Aſs *. When a *Fuller*, two Feet ſtanding in Water †. The being of a moroſe, unſociable Spirit, was emblematically expreſſed by an Eel ‡. The having lived to a good old Age, by a dead Raven ‖. A reformed Debauchee, by a Bull tied to a wild Fig-tree **. A gluttonous Perſon, by a Scare-fiſh *†. A Murderer brought to Repentance by Puniſhment, by a Fork-fiſh taken with a Hook *‡. This Article, *Philemon*, might be infinitely inlarged, and the Analogies in every Inſtance diſtinctly noted and explained; but it would take up too much of our Time, and is the leſs needful, after what has been already diſcourſed of the general Nature of the *Hieroglyphic* Writing.

You may proceed in your own Method (ſaid I) *Hortenſius*; I cannot but ſay I could have ſome Pleaſure in having theſe ſeveral Analogies pointed out to me; but perhaps this is not the place for them: And I would not give you more Trouble than is neceſſary, or divert you too much from the principal Scope of our Inquiry.

The

* Horap. Hierog. Lib. I. Hierog. 23.
† Ibid. Hierog. 65.
‡ Lib. II. Hierog. 103.
‖ Ibid. Hierog. 89.
** Ibid. Hierog. 77.
*† Ibid. Hierog. 109.
*‡ Ibid. Hierog. 112.

THE Emblems (reſumed he) I have hitherto mentioned, might be applicable to many different Perſons, as relating all along more to the Character concerned, than the particular Subject of it. Perſons however of more eminent Rank and Conſideration with the *Egyptians*, had, we muſt ſuppoſe, as the Reaſon of the Thing required, their more *diſtinguiſhing* and *ſelf-appropriated* Emblems aſſigned them. Thus, *Taautus*, or the *Egyptian Mercury*, is by *Sanchoniatho* ſaid to have expreſſed the Cares and Vigilance of Magiſtracy, in the Perſon of *Saturn*, " by an Image of him with " four Eyes, two before, and two behind, " as likewiſe two cloſed, and two open, in " his Head; and with four Wings, two " expanded, and two lying flat upon his " Shoulders: The Symbol of the Eyes " ſignifying, that *Saturn* in the Admini- " ſtration of his Authority, was often to ſee, " what he appeared not to ſee; and often " to wink at what he manifeſtly ſaw—— " That of the Wings; that *Saturn* was " often to have Intelligence of what paſ- " ſed, even where he could not be pre- " ſent at it; and often to ſeem ignorant " of what he was nevertheleſs fully ac- " quainted with *". I am aware, *Philemon*, you may think this Repreſentation a little

* Euſeb. Præp. Evangel. Lib. I. p. 39. Ed. Par.

little too refined for ſo early an Age as that of *Taautus*. I do not therefore inſiſt here on its being litterally *his* Invention; (for I am ſenſible he has the Credit of many Inventions aſcribed to him, which were none of his) but mention it only as an Illuſtration of the more confined perſonal *Hieroglyphic*. Poſſibly, the Symbol of *Mercury* himſelf, which was that of the Dog, was of an earlier Introduction, as it is a much ſimpler Inſtance in the ſame Kind: "Not, "ſays *Plutarch* upon this Occaſion, that the "*Egyptians* eſteemed *Mercury* to reſemble "a Dog in any proper Senſe of the Word, "but their Meaning here was only to ap-"ply to him the guardian, watchful, and "diſtinguiſhing Quality of that Animal," founded upon certain analogous Circumſtances of his Hiſtoric Character †. In the ſame way of thinking, we find that *Pan*, one of the Companions of *Oſiris* in his foreign Expedition, was repreſented by a Goat ‡; as was *Jupiter*, the Father of *Oſiris*,

† Ου γαρ τον κυνα κυριως Ερμην λεγουσι, αλλα του ζωου το φυλακτικον, και το αγρυπνον, και το φιλοσοφον, γνωσει και αγνοια τον φιλον και το εχθρον οριζοντος, ὁ φησιν ὁ Πλατων, τω λογιωτατω των θεων συνοικειουσι. Plut. de Iſ. & Oſ. p. 355.

‡ Γραφουσι δε δη και γλυφουσι οἱ ζωγραφοι και οἱ αγαλματοποιοι του Πανος, καταπερ Ἑλληνες, τραγαλμα αιγοπροσωπον, και τραγοσκελεα. Herod. lib. 2. cap. 46.

Oſiris, by a Ram *; and *Typhon*, his profeſſed Adverſary and Murderer, by an Aſs, a Crocodile, and a River or Sea-Horſe: The firſt, as *Plutarch*'s Remark in the caſe is, the moſt ſtupid of all the tamer Animals; the other two, the fierceſt and moſt miſchievous of all the wilder ones †. For the original Grounds of the two Symbols of *Jupiter* and *Pan*, Antiquity has not, that I know of, ſatisfactorily explained them to us. Our great Countryman Sir *Iſaac Newton* is of opinion, that the one only ſignified *Jupiter* to have conquered *Libya*, a Country abounding with Sheep ‡; and the other, that *Pan* was a Perſon much addicted to Dancing ‖. But from the After-Application we meet with both of the Symbol and Character of *Pan* in the *Mythologic* Ages, I have been ſometimes tempted to ſuſpect, that the Goat, in his Caſe, had, even from the firſt Uſe of it, a quite other Intendment than is here repreſented; and either ſignified him to have been of a very

* Κριοπροσωπον τωγαλμα του Διος ποιευσι Αιγυπτιοι. Ibid. cap. 42.

† Απονεμουσιν αυτω (τω Τυφωνι) των ημερων ζωων τον αμαθεστατον ονον, των δε αγριων θηριωδεστατα, κροκοδειλον, και τον ποταμιον ιππον. Plut. de Iſ. & Oſ. p. 371.

‡ The Chronology of ancient Kingdoms amended, p. 226.

‖ The Chron. &c. p. 227.

very *ſalacious* Complexion, or the Father of a very *numerous* Offſpring *. Such however being the general Practice of the *Egyptians*, " to ſignify as well *Men*, as " *Things*, under certain *ſenſible Emblems*, " you will eaſily conceive how *Oſiris*, the great Father of Agriculture to the *Egyptians*, ſhould come to be repreſented by them, as we find he was, under the Figure of a *Bull* or an *Ox*, the very Animal he had firſt made uſe of for this valuable Purpoſe †: As alſo how *Iſis* ſhould be ſignified by the Figure of a *Cow* ‡; both for the part ſhe had contributed towards Agriculture in the firſt diſtinction of Grain; as likewiſe more emphatically, 'tis probable, for her having taught either the *firſt*, or the *more improved* Uſe of the Cow's Milk; Which

I

* Ὅτευ δε εινεκα τοιουτον γραφουσι αυτον (τον Πανα) ου μοι ηδιον εστι λεγειν. Herod. Lib. II. cap. 46. Τον δε τραγον απεθεωσαν δια το γενητικον μοριον· το δε μοριον του σωματος τα της γενεσεως αιτιον τιμασθαι φασι προσηκοντως, ὡς αν ὑπαρχον αρχεγονου της των ζωων φυσεως· Diodor. Sic. Bib. l. 1. p. 55.

† Τους δε ταυρους τους ἱερους τιμασθαι παραπλησιως τοις θεοις, Οσιριδος καταδειξαντος, ἁμα δε και δια την της γεωργιας χρειαν, ἁμα δε και δια το των ευρουτων τους καρπους την δοξαν ταις τουτων ευεργεσιαις παραδοσιμον γεγονεναι τοις μεταγενεστεροις εις ἁπαντα του χρονου. Diodor. Sic. Bib. Lib. I. p. 79.

‡ Vid. Plut. de Iſ. & Oſ. p. 372.

I collect from one of thoſe *Dramatic* Ceremonies we were ſpeaking of, in the *Egyptian* Religion, inſtituted, I perſuade myſelf, in honor of this Invention, which is mentioned by the *Sicilian* Hiſtorian, to have been practiſed in a certain Iſland of the *Nile*; where the Prieſts, as he tells us, appointed to this Service, " filled every " Day three hundred and ſixty Veſſels with " Milk, near one of the ſuppoſed Places " of Interment of *Oſiris* and *Iſis*, lament- " ing, and calling upon their Names* ". And now, *Philemon*, we are upon the very Confines of a *Symbolic Theology*. For the Figure of a Bull, as we ſay, having been the *Egyptian* Emblem of their beloved *Oſiris*, a Proportion at leaſt of the regard due to *himſelf*, would, even in his Life-time,

* Ενιοι δε φασι φυκ εν Μεμφει κεισθαι τα σωματα τουτων των θεων, αλλ' επι των ορων της Αιθιοπιας και της Αιγυπτου, κατα την εν των Νειλω νησον κειμενην μεν προς ταις καλουμεναις Φιλαις· σημεια δε τουτου δεικνυουσιν εν τη νησω ταυτη διαμενοντα τον τε ταφον κατεσκευασμενον Οσιριδι, και τας περι τουτον κειμενας εξηκοντα και τριακοσιας χοας· ταυτας γαρ καθ' εκαστην ημεραν γαλακτος πληρουν τους προς τουτοις ταχθεντας ιερεις, και θρηνειν αναπαλουμενους τα των θεων ονοματα. Diod. Sic. Bib. Lib. I. p. 19. Τους δε ταυρους τους ιερους, τον τε ονομαζομενον Απιν, και τον Μνευιν, Οσιριδι καθιερωθηναι, και τουτους σεβεσθαι καθαπερ θεους, κοινη καταδειχθηναι πασιν Αιγυπτιοις. Diod. Sic. Bib. Lib. I. p. 19.

time, doubtleſs, devolve upon this his privileged Subſtitute. But when, after his Death, he came to be *Deified*, the Matter ſoon took a much higher turn: What before was grateful Reſpect, now grew up into Religious Reverence. His Symbol was no longer that of a *Man*, but a *God*; till, by degrees, the Devotion of weak Minds ever inclining towards a ſenſible Preſence, and *Oſiris* having left nothing ſenſible behind him, upon Earth at leaſt, but his Benefactions, and his Symbol, the viſible Repreſentation took place of the inviſible *Demon*; and what had been for ſome time the ſtanding Expreſſion of his Character, became at length the favourite Inſtrument of his Adoration. You ſee, *Philemon*, even yet, tho' there was too much of Religion in the Caſe, there was nothing of Myſtery; the Matter was neither more, nor leſs, than what the moſt vulgar *Romaniſts* practiſe at this very Day, when to do honor to a ſuppoſed tutelar Saint, they ignorantly fall proſtrate before his Image. But tho' the Foundation of this Symbol-worſhip was not originally laid in any myſterious Speculation, it gave birth however in time to a great deal; inaſmuch as the *Hiſtoric* Gods of the *Egyptians* were by no means the only ones, who had the Privilege of this Repreſentation by Animals; but the Notion was by degrees extended to all

their various Syſtem of Phyſical Divinities. In the mean while, is it not, think you, the more natural Progreſs of things in this, as in all parallel Subjects, from what is eaſy and obvious, into what is abſtruſe, and recondite, than, on the other hand, from difficult and myſterious, into ſimple, and familiar Principles?

UNDOUBTEDLY (ſaid I) *Hortenſius*. 'Tis one of the moſt ſelf-evident Things imaginable. I am really ſurpriſed you ſhould aſk me the Queſtion. No Man in his ſober Senſes can think otherwiſe.

YOU are too apt (returned he) to judge of other Peoples way of Thinking by your own. What ſay you to Mr. *Shuckford*'s Authority in this point? He is both a Scholar, and a Man of Senſe: and yet he is clearly againſt us in this whole matter; and has publickly declared for the direct contrary Opinion. But this is not the only Inſtance in which this Author has ſacrificed Probability to Syſtem, and given up Nature, in order to ſerve, as he imagines, the Cauſe of Revelation.

BUT how (I interrupted) is that at all intereſted in the matter we are conſidering? It ſeems to me a mere Point of Antiquity, or Curioſity, in which *modern* Syſtems of

Belief at leaſt can have no manner of Concern.

I WILL explane this Affair to you, (ſaid he) *Philemon*. You know it is a favorite Topic with many of our Divines to depreciate Reaſon, the better to eſtabliſh the Neceſſity of what is called Faith with them. Now nothing can caſt a greater Reflection upon Reaſon, than to ſuppoſe that ſo wild and extravagant a Doctrine as that of the Emblematic Theology had its immediate Riſe from this Quarter; or that the *original* Practice of Brute-Worſhip in *Egypt* was a Reſult of pretended Speculation, and a more refined Philoſophy. Accordingly, our Author would perſuade us to think, that the *Origin* of paying Religious Worſhip before ſome Animal Repreſentation in *Egypt* was ſo far from having any Reference to *Oſiris*, or the other Hiſtoric Deities of the ſame Age, (for they had all of them, I would obſerve here once for all, their conſecrated Symbols, as well as he) that it was a Practice with the *Egyptians*, Ages before the Deification of theſe Heroes was ſo much as thought of. Nay, that the very Grounds of their applying religious Symbols to their Hero-Deities were laid in a preeſtabliſhed Uſage of this kind with regard to their natural ones. " The firſt " Step (ſays he) the *Egyptians* took, after

" they

" they worſhipped the Luminaries of Hea-
" ven, was to dedicate ſome living Crea-
" ture to each particular Deity, and to
" worſhip that Deity before ſuch Creature,
" or the Image of it *." If you aſk, how they fell into this Practice, which to our Apprehenſion *ſeems*, it is confeſſed, *odd and humourſome*, the Anſwer is; " Their " Speculation and Philoſophy led them into " it." When had they deſerted the ſure Guidance of Tradition, " they quickly fell " from one Fancy to another." And having once thought the Lights of Heaven *to be the Gods that governed the World*, " they " in a little time apprehended theſe Gods " to have made the living Creatures of " the Earth more or leſs Partakers of " their Divinity and Perfections," in order to convey a Knowledge of themſelves to Mankind †. I know not, *Philemon*, had our Author lived in *Egypt* in the Ages we are ſpeaking of, in *how little a time* he might have come to *apprehend this*; but I am ſure it would have coſt me a *great deal* to do it: ſince, in the Light it is here placed in, it appears, I muſt confeſs, to me, one of the *leaſt obvious* Apprehenſions imaginable. For, as the Queſtion is well put by the learned Writer himſelf,

* *Shuckford*'s Con. Vol. II. p. 278, 279.
† Shuck. Con. Vol. II. p. 279, 280.

" of what uſe can the Figure of a Beaſt " be, to raiſe in Mens Minds Ideas of the " ſidereal Deities *?" Or, if on the other hand the Paſſage from Luminary to Brute-Worſhip be indeed ſo *quick* an one, as was juſt now repreſented, it will ever be a Deſideratum with me to conceive, whence it came to paſs, that no other Nation we are acquainted with beſides the *Egyptians*, how much ſoever it might rival them in *one* of theſe Articles of their Idolatry, ever did ſo in the *other?* But their Philoſophy, it ſeems, was as ſingular in this Caſe, as their Practice; neither of which could enter into the head of any People but themſelves.

It was a kind of local Infatuation (ſaid I) I ſuppoſe, with them; a Diſtemper of their Soil and Climate; a Species of Deluſion which could only have its Production in this choſen Land of abject Superſtition. Or, poſſibly, after all, it was ſome Influence of their *Stars themſelves:* ſome ſingular Aſpect of theſe Luminaries, which never took place but this once, and that only within the Horizon of *Egypt*, that gave birth to this wonderful Phænomenon; and by certain ſecret Intimations to their Worſhippers ſuggeſted this unuſual Mode of their own Idolatry. You

* Shuck. Con. Vol. II. p. 279.

You would have made an excellent *Egyptian*, (returned he) *Philemon*, to have talked at this rate of occult Reaſons, and ſecret Communications. You have here, I believe, ſtruck a Note of Refinement in behalf of Animal-Worſhip beyond any of its profeſſed Apologiſts in Antiquity. Had you hit off ſuch a Defence of it in *Egypt*, in the Times of this Superſtition, I almoſt fancy you would have had a whole College of her Prieſts to wait on you with the Compliment of Initiation, even without the Trouble of its preparatory Ceremonies. In the mean while, I, who love Nature much better than Viſions, am for acquitting both the Country and the Stars of *Egypt* in this Matter, and for tracing out the Source of Brute-Worſhip in the *Egyptians* themſelves. It had its Derivation, I make no queſtion, from the Practice of their common, and above all their *perſonal Hieroglyphics*: and, inſtead of ſaying with Mr. *Shuckford* here, "that the Uſe of Animals amongſt the "*Egyptians* for Images of their Deities "introduced an analogous Practice in their "Pictures of Men * ;" I would ſay rather (and with much greater Probability, I think) "that their *Hieroglyphical* Manner of re-"preſenting to one another the Perſons and "Characters of *Men* gave Riſe to an ana-"logous

† Shuck. Con. Vol. II. p. 308, 309.

" logous Uſage with relation to their *Gods*." For, to mention, *Philemon*, ſome few of their Repreſentations in each kind—Was it not a much more eaſy and natural Thought, for them to ſignify *Oſiris*, the Father of Tillage, by the Figure of a Bull—Or *Iſis*, who taught them either the firſt Uſe, or the Improvement of Cows Milk, by that of a Cow—Or *Mercury*, the faithful Friend, and prudent Counſellor of them both, by the Watchfulneſs and Sagacity of the Dog?—Than it was " to fancy the " Hawk paid a natural Homage to the Sun, " and was an appoſite Symbol of him, be- " cauſe it is the only Bird, which can in- " dure a ſtrong Light without Pain; can " ſoar directly againſt the Sun-beams; and " is obſerved ſometimes to fly in a ſupine " Poſture, looking freely and ſteadily to- " wards Heaven, and towards the Eye of " him who ſees all Things *?"—Or, to think of repreſenting the Moon by a Cat, " becauſe

* Αιγυπτιοι τον ἱερακα Απολλωνι τιμᾶν εοικασι· και προσηκειν τω θεω, φασι· ὁρωσι γαρ ἱερακες ορνιθων μονον αει, εν ταις ακτισι του ἡλιου ραδιως και ἀβασανιστως Βλεποντες, και δυσωπουμενοι ἡκιστα· πορειαν τε την ανωτατω ἰασι, και αυτους ἡ θεια φλοξ λυπει ουδεν· και αναπαλιν μεν τοι πετεσθαι τον ἱερακα ὁι ιδοντες φασιν ὡς ἐξ ὑπτιας νεοντα· ενθα τοι και προς τον ουρανον ὁρᾶ, και προς τον παντα ἐφορωντα, ἀλλα ελευθερως και ατρεπτως ὁ αυτος· Ælian. Hiſt. Animal. Lib. X. cap. 13.

" becauſe of the ſpotted Skin of this Animal; " its imploying itſelf moſtly in the Night-" time; and having the Pupil of its Eye " inlarged, or contracted, according to the " Moon's Increaſe or Wane*?"—Or again, to image the ſame Luminary by a Dog, " becauſe the young ones of this Species " are blind *thirteen* Days from their Birth, " which is the exact Number of the Days " in a Year, on which the Moon gives " abſolutely no Light †?" I might go on to inſtance in the Rams being held ſacred to the Sun, as the great Lord of Life, " from " its being obſerved to reſt the ſix Winter " Months of the Year, upon its left Side, " and the other ſix" (the Seaſon in which both the animal and vegetable World is in its moſt proſperous and flouriſhing State) " upon its right; changing its Poſture pre-" ciſely at the time of the autumnal and " vernal

* Τω δε αιλουρω αινιττομενοι την σελημην δια το ποικιλον, και νυκτουργον, και γονιμον του θηριου.—αι δε εν τοις ομμασιν αυτου Κορα πληρουσθαι μεν και πλατυνεσθαι δοκουσιν εν πανσελημνω, λεπτυνεσθαι δε και μαραυγειν εν ταις μειωσεσι του αστρου. Plut. de Iſ. & Oſ. p. 376.

† Τα σκυλακια τυφλα τικτεται, και ουκ οραι της μητρος ωδινος προελθοντα, και τρισκαιδεκα ημερων των πρωτων κατειληπται τω παθει τωδε, οταν και η σελημη ου φαινει νυκτωρ. Ælian. Hiſt. Animal. Lib. X. cap. 45.

" vernal Equinoxes *."—Or, in the Ape's being conſecrated to the Moon, as " having " a *natural Sympathy* with her; inaſ- " much as at the time of her Congreſs with " the Sun," the part of her Period in which with reſpect to the Earth ſhe is totally dark, " the Male Ape becomes blind; refuſes " its Food; and hangs down its Head to- " wards the Ground, as regretting the " Abſence of the Moon's Light; the Fe- " male Ape at the ſame Seaſon, beſides all " this, ſuffering a peculiar and periodical " Infirmity of her own †."—Or, I might take notice to you of———But the matter is, I dare ſay, already too evident, to need any farther Illuſtration.

As

* Ακουω τον κριον το ζωον εξ μηνων των χειμεριωτατων κατα της αριστερας πλευρας κεισθαι και καθευδειν, ὁταν αυτον αιρει και περιλαμβανει ὑπνος· απο δε της εαρινης ισημεριας εμπαλιν αναπαυεσθαι, κατα δε της δεξιας κεισθαι. Ælian. Hiſt. Animal. Lib. X. cap. 18.

† Σεληνην γραφοντες (Αιγυπτιοι) κυνοκεφαλον ζωγραφουσι· επειδη το ζωον τουτο συμπαθειαν τινα προς την της θεου συνοδον εκτησατο· ὁταν γαρ εν τω μερει της ὡρας ἡ σεληνη συνοδευουσα ἡλιω αφωτιστος γενηται, τοτε ὁ μεν αρσην κυνοκεφαλος ου βλεπει, ουδε εσθιει, αχθεται δε εις την γην νενευκως, καθαπερ πενθων της σεληνης ἀποταγην· ἡ δε θηλεια μετα του μη ὁραν, και ταυτα τω αρρενι πασχειν, ετι δε και εκ της ιδιας φυσεως αιμασσεται. Horap. Hierog. Lib. I. Hierog. 14.

As much a *Myſtic* (interpoſed I) *Hortenſius*, as you was pleaſed juſt now in Raillery to paint me to yourſelf, believe me, I am very ready to deſcend with you out of the airy Regions of Fancy into the ſafer Paths of plain Nature; and can without difficulty give up both my Hypotheſis, and Initiation, to enter into ſuch a rational and ſatisfactory Sentiment of Things, as you have here laid before me.

THERE is (reſumed he) this farther Argument for the prior Date of Heroic Symbols to Phyſical; that the firſt natural Divinities of the *Egyptians*, the Sun, Moon, and Stars, were all of them Objects capable of a direct Repreſentation to Senſe by way of *Picture*, or μιμησις of the Things themſelves: which, as it is in itſelf the moſt obvious kind of Repreſentation of any Object, would doubtleſs take place with the *Egyptians*, wherever it was practicable: a Circumſtance, which muſt have precluded, it ſhould ſeem, the Uſe of Symbols with regard to their natural Gods, till ſuch time as, from the Application of them in the Worſhip of their civil Gods, the emblematic Turn of Thinking in Religion was grown to be the popular and prevailing one. And indeed, to ſhut up this Subject, *Philemon*, had the *Symbolic* Worſhip of Nature been introduced in *Egypt*, as Mr. *Shuckford*

every where maintains it was, before either the *ſymbolic*, or the *proper* Worſhip of her antient Heroes, I queſtion much, whether this latter Species of her Idolatry had ever been heard of. For it ſeems to me a little unlikely, that, after the *Egyptians* had acquired ſuch an exquiſite Sagacity in Thinking, as to be able to repreſent to themſelves, as we may ſay, the whole Creation in Emblem, they ſhould find any Temptation to idolize ſuch comparatively low and humble Efforts of human Genius, as the Invention of the firſt ſimpler Arts and Accommodations of Life.

THE true Riſe therefore of Animal-Worſhip in *Egypt* was, doubtleſs, of a much humbler Kind than Mr. *Shuckford* has repreſented. "It was originally only the "Worſhip of the antient Heroes of the "*Egyptians*, exalted by them after their "Deceaſe to the Character of Gods, thro' "the Medium of that particular Animal-"Repreſentation, which had been uſed in "*Hieroglyphic* Writing to diſtinguiſh their "ſeveral Perſons as Men." But the matter, however it might begin, did not, we find, reſt here; for the Idea of a *certain Divine Preſence* having once grown into an eſtabliſhed Connexion with the Image or Portrait of a *certain Animal*, it was eaſy for Superſtition or Artifice to improve upon

this Hint; and to have it believed, that the God, who was thus conceived of as myſtically preſent to his Worſhippers in the dead Image, might ſometimes vouchſafe to become ſubſtantially ſo in the living Animal in Kind: a Notion, which accordingly prevailed in time with the *Egyptians* to ſuch an extravagant degree, that there was ſcarce a Species of Animals in their Country, ſome Individual whereof had not Divine Honors paid it, as the Temple of ſome or other of their Gods *. One of the moſt celebrated of theſe Brute-Divinities was the *Apis*: "A God," as *Lucian* humorouſly deſcribes him, "from out of the Herd †;" Or, in other Words, a Bull conſecrated to *Oſiris*; whoſe firſt Diſtinction from his Fellows was probably nothing more, than his ſuperior Size or Beauty ‡; though it was afterwards improved into his having a ſupernatural Conception, together with ſeveral *Myſtic Enſigns* of a Divine Charac-

 ter,

* Αιγυπτιοι δε θρησκευουσι περισσως τα τε αλλα περι τα ἱρα, και δη και ταδε· Αιγυπτος ου μαλα θηριωδης εστι, τα δε εοντα σφι απαντα ἱρα νενομισται· Herod. Lib. II. cap. 65.

† Εστι δε ὁ Απις εξ αγελης θεος· Lucian. de Sacrif. ap. Fin.

‡ Πολυ καλλιων και σεμνοτερος των ιδιωτων Βοων· Ibid. Ὁ δε Ἡλιῳ ανακειμενος εν Ἡλιου πολει καλουμενος Μνευις, Βοων εστι μεγιστος, σφοδρα μελας. Porph ap. Euſeb. Præp. Evang. Lib. III. cap. 13.

ter, to the Number, in *Ælian*'s Time, of twenty-nine: in virtue whereof, he was conſtituted not only, what we ſometimes find him called by the *Egyptians*, (and what alone, I perſuade my ſelf, was their firſt Idea of him) " the beautiful Image " of the Soul of *Oſiris* * ;" But, by a ſtill higher Privilege, the Image of the greateſt part of their *natural* Deities at the ſame time †. But theſe, *Philemon*, I paſs over at preſent, both, as they belong rather to the ſubſequent part of our Inquiry; and, as they were, paſt queſtion, Appendages to the original Superſtition of the *Apis*; a mere Contrivance of the *Egyptian* Prieſthood,

* Τον Απιν ὡς ευμορφον εικονα χρη νομιζειν της Οσιριδος ψυχης· Plut. de Iſ. & Oſ. p. 362.

† Θεος Αιγυπτιοις εναργεστατος ὁ Απις ειναι πιστευεται· γινεται δε εκ Βοος εις ἡν ουρανιον σελας εμπεσον σποράς αιτιον εστι τω προειρημενω——σημεια δε αυτου και γνωρισματα ενδεα και εικοσι ειναι (Αιγυπτιοι) φασιν· ὁτου δε των αστερων ἑκαστον σημειον δια συμβολον αινιττεται την Φυσιν, Αιγυπτιοι τεκμηριωσαι ἱκανοι· και γαρ τοι και την ανοδον την του Νειλου ὑποδηλοῦν σημειον φασι, και το του κοσμου σχημα· ἀλλ' οψει τι και συμβολον, ὡς εκεινοι λεγουσιν, ὁ περουν αινιττεται του Φωτος ειναι το σκοτος πρεσβυτερον· και το μηνοειδες της σεληνης κατηγορεϊ σχημα συνιεντι μερος αλλο· και αλλα δε επι τουτοις αλλων τε αινιγματα, βεβηλοις τε και αμαθεσιν ἱστοριας θεοπρεπους ουκ ευσυμβολα ταυτα οφθαλμοις ὀντα· Ælian. Hiſt. Animal. Lib. II. cap. 10.

hood, to get the Times of his Appearance, (for, I ſhould obſerve to you, he was not always ſuppoſed to be preſent in *Egypt*) into their own hands; and to have the making, as occaſion might offer, of one of the chief Objects of Worſhip in their Country.

And a very artful Contrivance too, (ſaid I) *Hortenſius*, for the Ends of Prieſtly Ambition and Emolument; as we have but too good Proof in the Hiſtory of modern Superſtition: whoſe Maſters, you know, throughout great part of *Chriſtendom*, have adopted this God-making Policy of the old *Egyptian* Hierarchs; which they accordingly practiſe frequently with equal Impudence, and Succeſs, in the Face of devout Multitudes, who, from an aweful Senſe of their high Prerogative in this matter, are inſlaved into a blind Submiſſion to their Authority in every other.

Before we have finiſhed our preſent Subject, (returned he) *Philemon*, you will find this is by no means the only Inſtance of Plagiariſm in modern Superſtition, from antient. Prieſtcraft, it ſhould ſeem, was a Science very ſoon brought to its Perfection in the World. It is obſerved of Arts in general, you know, that they never fail to flouriſh under a proper Incouragement: a Happineſs,

pineſs, which the Art we are ſpeaking of in particular could never want, as far backwards in Hiſtory as there was any ſuch thing as devout Weakneſs in human Nature. It carries indeed, in diſtinction from all other Arts, its immediate Recompence in its own hands: ſince, whoever has Addreſs enough to cheat People of their Liberties and their Poſſeſſions by applying himſelf to their Fears is ſure of being a ſufficient Gainer by his Profeſſion. But, to return from the political Application of Brute-Worſhip, to the original Inſtitution of it; for the preciſe Æra of theſe Animal-Gods in *Egypt*, we have little more than Conjecture to truſt to in this matter. The *Egyptian* Chronology, you may remember, ſeems to have determined the time of the Conſecration of the *Apis* to the Reign of *Ceachos*, the tenth Succeſſor in the *Thinite* Government. If the *Apis* was, as I am much inclined to believe, the firſt Inſtance of a Brute-God amongſt the *Egyptians*, the time here fixed for his Conſecration falls in, as I obſerved to you in our laſt Converſation, with the Age of *Suphis* at *Memphis*; whoſe general Character may make it not improbable, that he was the Author of this Fancy. Whether *Suphis* was more a Devotionaliſt, or a Politician, I know not; but he had, we find, a Head much turned to Religious Subjects: and, from the extra-

ordinary Acquaintance he is ſaid to have had with the Gods, muſt have underſtood, no doubt, beyond any of his Contemporaries, the *Modus* of their Divine Preſence.

WHICH was the Secret, (ſaid I) I ſuppoſe, he delivered down to his Succeſſors in Religious Politics in that *Sacred Book* you mentioned him to have been the Author of; a Depoſitum, it ſeems, whereby his Memory became ſo ſingularly indeared to them, that they could not let it paſs through their hands to After-Ages without entering a particular Teſtimony of their Obligations to him upon this account.

AND yet perhaps (returned he) the Secret, *Philemon*, was all this while nothing more, than that of humoring the Biaſs of popular Weakneſs; ſubmitting to govern the Multitude upon their own Terms; and leaving them to the Impreſſions of a falſe Species of Religion, as thinking them not fit to be truſted with the Principles of a truer one. I inquire not into the Merits of ſuch a way of Thinking; all I obſerve is, that it ſeems to have been the general Sentiment of more knowing Antiquity in the Point. And of this kind, I make no queſtion, was the *Egyptian* Brute-Worſhip: not originally a Deduction of their Philoſophy; (for then the *Greeks*, who

who learnt to Philoſophize in *Egypt*, would have fallen into the ſame Practice) but a mere *local* Accommodation to vulgar Prejudices; which, when they had taken too deep Root to be removed without hazard, as might be apprehended, to better Things, the Learned, as their manner ſeems to have been in all parallel Caſes, endeavoured to juſtify as well as they could; and to give them the beſt Colorings they were capable of. For indeed the Belief of Animal-Gods in *Egypt* was an Error of too great Conſequence to the Prieſthood, not to deſerve all the Countenance they could give it; nor need we doubt, but the Wiſdom of this Order would find ſomething to ſay for itſelf upon ſo intereſting an Occaſion. And here, as I take it, came in firſt the *Philoſophy* of repreſenting, as Mr. *Shuckford* well expreſſes the matter for us, " the Gods to have made " the living Creatures upon Earth more or " leſs Partakers of their Divinity and Per- " fections, in order to convey a Know- " ledge of themſelves to Mankind:" a Notion, which, as the ſame learned Writer remarks, " Men of the niceſt Inquiry pre- " tended to ſupport by many curious Ob- " ſervations upon particular Kinds of Ani- " mals*:" inſomuch, that *Porphyry* aſſures us, it came in time, upon this Principle, to be aſſerted by them, " as from a more " intimate

* Shuck. Con. Vol. II. p. 279, 280.

" intimate Knowledge of Divine Matters, " that ſome Animals had ſo near a rela- " tion to certain of the Gods, as to be " even dearer to them than Mankind itſelf; " as was (they maintained) the caſe of the " Hawk in reſpect to the Sun, from a " ſuppoſed Analogy of its Temperament " to that of the Sun's Body *."

THIS was a Strain of Refinement indeed (ſaid I) *Hortenſius*. But after all I do not much wonder to find the human Species in *Egypt* ſunk ſo low in the Eſtimation of their ſpiritual Maſters, conſidering that they converſed with Mankind altogether in their Foibles; and found them capable of being made Tools to their ſeparate Intereſt and Ambition, by entering into ſuch abject and illiberal Sentiments of Things.

THE ſtanding ſo high (reſumed he) in the Favor of Heaven, as in the Inſtance here mentioned, was the Lot only of ſome few privileged Animals: or rather, probably, was an occaſional Compliment in the hands of the Prieſthood, to be beſtowed

 here

* Εκ της περι το θειον συντροφιας κατελαβον τισι των θεων προσφιλη των ζωων τινα μαλλον των ανθρωπων· ως ηλιω ιερακα, συμπασαν μεν την φυσιν εξ αιματος εχοντα, και πνευματος, και ζην μεν επι πλειονα ετη· Porph. de Abſtinentiâ, Lib. IV. Sect. 9.

here and there, upon certain ſpecial Emergencies. However this might be, the general Plea for Animal-Worſhip, as ſoon as the Learning of *Egypt* had ingaged in the Patronage of it, was, as has been ſaid, " the relation which the ſeveral kinds of " conſecrated Animals had to ſome or other " of the Gods, in quality of *Emblems*, or " *ſenſible Repreſentations*, of their divine " Powers and Properties:" ſeveral alledged Examples whereof having been occaſionally produced, whilſt we were diſcourſing at large of the *Hieroglyphic-Science*, I ſhall preſume upon this matter, *Philemon*, as already ſufficiently illuſtrated to you. But when, upon the Principle here ſuppoſed, the Number of Divine Symbols was ſo much increaſed in *Egypt*, that the preciſe Reaſons of them in each particular Inſtance were in a manner endleſs to be diſtinctly inſiſted on; and when moreover the general Subject-Matter of the *Egyptian* Theology itſelf was, in a Courſe of Time and Speculation, become more refinedly *Philoſophical*; a ſtill higher way of Thinking was authorized in the Point; which at once apologized for *every* poſſible Caſe of Animal-Superſtition, without deſcending to the more intricate Minutiæ of *any*. Thus it was maintained, " that the Worſhip " ſeemingly paid to particular conſecrated " Animals did not terminate in the Ani-

" mals

" mals themſelves, as a ſuperficial or pro-
" fane Obſerver might imagine; but had
" for its ultimate Object the Divine Power,
" which actuates all things, as diſplaying it-
" ſelf in thoſe Animals *: for that it was
" not in Man alone that the Divinity offer-
" ed itſelf to our Obſervation, but in almoſt
" every kind of animated Nature; where-
" fore, it was thought good to take in every
" ſuch Nature into the Syſtem of Deity †."
Nay, it was even aſſerted, as we find in *Plutarch*, " that Animals were the moſt
" perfect and natural *Specula* in which the
" human Mind could contemplate the God-
" head: inaſmuch as being indued with
" Life, and Senſe, and Self-motion, and
" having a Faculty of diſtinguiſhing diffe-
" rent Objects from each other for their
" own Uſe and Preſervation, they were to
" be conceived of as ſo many ſeveral Streams
" iſſuing from the great common Fountain
" of Life and Intelligence: and had there-
" fore a much nearer Affinity to the Di-
" vine Being, than any Images of human

 " Device,

* Την επι παντων δυναμιν του θεου δια των συνομων ζωων, ων εκαστου τον θεον παρεσχεν, εθρησκευσαν. Porph. de Abſ. Lib. IV. Sect. 9.

† Εγνωσαν ως ου δι' ανθρωπου μονου το θειον διηλθεν, αλλα σχεδον δια παντων των ζωων, διο εις την θεοποιαν παρελαβον παν ζωον. Porph. de Abſ. p. 154.

" Device, the uninformed Workmanſhip " of the Sculptor, or the Statuary *."

In Conſequence of which way of thinking (ſaid I) our Apologiſts for Brute-Worſhip might with ſtill greater Reaſon have demanded Divine Honors to their *own Perſons*; and have pronounced themſelves to be in right, what they were too much in fact, ſo many Gods to the People: unleſs indeed they were apprehenſive, the People might upon the ſame Principles commence Gods, as well as their Maſters; or were after all honeſtly conſcious to themſelves that, whatever the Argument might ſeem to prove for them, they could indeed have but little Title to a Divine Character, who had ſo far debaſed the human one, as to enter ſeriouſly into the Defence of ſuch a ridiculous Theology.

For the Conſequences of Opinions (returned *Hortenſius*) People are by no means always

* Αγαπητεον ουν ου ταυτα τιμωντας, αλλα δια ταυτα το Θειον, ως ενεργεστερων εσοπτρων, και Φυσει γεγονοτων——η δε ζωσα, και βλεπουσα, και κινησεως αρχην εξ εαυτης εχουσα, και γνωσιν οικειων και αλλοτριων, Φυσις, αλλως τε εσπακεν απορρoην και μοιραν εκ του Φρονουντος οπως κυβερναται το τε συμπαν· οθεν ου χειρον εν τουτοις εικαζεται το Θειον, η χαλκειοις και λιθινοις δημιουργημασιν· Plut. de Iſ. & Oſ. p. 382.

always true to them; inaſmuch as they may either not ſee, or not acknowledge, or, which is more to our preſent Purpoſe, not *want* them. For this was certainly the Caſe of our *Egyptian* Apologiſts in the Subject before us: They framed their Hypotheſis with an Eye to a *particular Point only*; and therefore purſued it no farther than the Intereſts of *that Point* required: or, in other Words, as has been intimated above, they found their Countrymen, for Reaſons already mentioned, actually ingaged in the Worſhip of certain Brute-Animals, and then inſtituted a kind of Mock-Philoſophy, which ſhould authorize ſuch a Worſhip: their Speculation in this matter taking its riſe from their Practice, and not their Practice from their Speculation. And here, *Philemon*, at parting with the Subject of the Sacred Animals, I may obſerve to you, that the Doctrine of the *Metempſychoſis*, ſuppoſed by the *Greek* Writers a Native of *Egypt*, is by many People believed to owe its Birth to this Article of her Theology. Indeed the learned *Voſſius* is of opinion, that it was a Corruption of ſome traditionary Notices in Antiquity concerning a general Reſurrection *. But, as he reſts his Opinion

* Imo non animas modo ſupereſſe poſt mortem, conſenſus gentium fuit: ſed apud multas etiam reliquiæ fuere de novâ cum corporibus conjunctione, quam Reſurrectionem dicimus. Sed fœdè eam corruperunt

nion here upon mere Authority without Reaſons, we are certainly at liberty to diſſent from him, if a more probable Account of the matter may be found to offer itſelf; as, I muſt own, I am inclined to think there may yet be given of it, than either of the Accounts hitherto mentioned. Whether Reaſon, or Revelation, firſt taught Men the Belief of the Soul's Immortality, either way the Notion itſelf appears to have been a very antient one in the World.

As, without any thing ſupernatural in the Caſe, (interrupted I) we may well ſuppoſe it *muſt have been*: both, as the Doctrine of a future Exiſtence is a very important Engine of civil Policy; and as it is at the ſame time an Hypotheſis extremely flattering to private Intereſt; a kind of natural Dictate of the human Heart. The Love of Being as ſuch, and Deſire of its Continuance, is inſeparable from every *Conſcious* Poſſeſſor of it. In this reſpect the intriguing Stateſman has one common Feeling

ſuperunt in illam, quam dixere μετεμψυχωσιν, quaſi dicas tranſanimationem: item μετεμσωματωσιν, hoc eſt *migrationem de corpore in corpus*: etiam παλιγγενεσιαν, ſive regenerationem. Quæ non Pythagoreorum duntaxat, ſed multarum etiam gentium opinio fuit, & admodum diffitarum. De Egyptiis, teſtis Herodotus; a quibus etiam id hauſiſſe Pythagoram, idem tradit. Voſſ. de Orig. & Prog. Idol. Lib. I. p. 70, 71.

Feeling with the humbleſt Inſtrument of his Ambition: and having once learnt the Biaſs of Human Nature in this Point from *himſelf*, we cannot imagine he would long be at a Loſs to make uſe of it in other People.

In order to which End (ſaid *Hortenſius*) his Buſineſs would certainly be, to repreſent to Mens Thoughts the State of their future Exiſtence under ſuch particular kinds of ſenſible Images, as he ſhould conceive moſt agreable to the popular Reliſh in his Country. Now, do but ſuppoſe, *Philemon*, our Stateſman here to be an *Egyptian* one, and you will, I dare ſay, be of opinion with me, that a better Mode of Repreſentation in the Caſe before us could hardly have been deviſed, than that of a *Metempſychoſis*; a Notion, which, beſides the Countenance it might receive from the Superſtition of the *Egyptians*, as above mentioned, had a ſingular Accommodation to their national Uſage of *Hieroglyphic* Writing: for, whereas in the Courſe of this Practice they had been accuſtomed from the moſt diſtant Antiquity to ſubſtitute Animals for perſonal Characters of *the Living*, they would eaſily, we may imagine, enter into a Sentiment of Things, which ſhould repreſent theſe Animals as the perſonal Reſidence of *the Dead*: this being only to conceive of Death, as changing the

Emble-

Emblematic State of Affairs with Mankind into a *real* one; and allotting them that particular Province of Action in a literal Senſe, in which they had acted throughout Life in a figurative one *: But be this, *Philemon*, as it may—I have now led you through the three principal Stages of the *Egyptian* Idolatry—The Worſhip of the ſeveral

* It muſt be owned that, as *Herodotus* repreſents this matter to us, there ſeems to be nothing of moral Deſignation in it, (the only View in which it can be ſuppoſed to anſwer the Ends of civil Government) ſince according to his Account of it the States of all Men after Death are ſuppoſed the ſame—Πρωτοι δε και τονδε τον λογον Αιγυπτιοι εισι εισηγησαμενοι, ως ανθρωπου ψυχη αθανατος εστι· του σωματος δε καταφθινοντος, εις αλλο ζωον αιει γενομενον εσδυεται· επειαν δε περιελθη παντα τα χερσαια, και τα θαλασσια, και τα πτηνα, αυτις εις ανθρωπου σωμα γενομενον εσδυνειν· Herod. Lib. II. cap. 123.——But, when it is conſidered, that Philoſophy in *Egypt* was too good a Friend to Legiſlation, not to turn every Point of Doctrine to ſome political Account; that the Doctrine of *Pythagoras* and *Plato*, (both of whom were for ſome time under an *Egyptian* Tutorage, and who, as Philoſophers, had a nearer Intereſt in a Queſtion of this Nature, than a mere Hiſtorian can be conceived to have had) puts a manifeſt Difference between good and bad Men in the future State; and moreover, that *Diodorus* expreſsly informs us that the *Egyptians* themſelves did the ſame, in his Account of their Funeral Ceremonies; when this, I ſay, is conſidered, it may incline one to ſuſpect *Herodotus's* Repreſentation of the Caſe here to be rather inaccurate, and that the *Metempſychoſis* of the *Egyptians* was always intended to carry with it the Idea of a certain moral Diſcipline.

ſeveral Parts and Powers of Nature—Of certain deified Heroes of very remote Antiquity, the Founders of Society, and Inventers of the more neceſſary Arts of Life—And of the Animals conſecrated to theſe ſuppoſed Deities of both Kinds, as Emblems of their Divinity and Perfections—It remains however that I give you ſome ſhort Account of that induſtrious Confuſion of the natural with the civil part of their Theology intimated, you may remember, during our laſt Conference, to have been introduced amongſt the *Egyptians*, in the ſucceſſive Refinement of their Religious Politics; and which is to be conſidered, I think, as the finiſhing Improvement of their ſpeculative Superſtition. For the Grounds of this Confuſion, you are to obſerve, that, whereas the Foundations of their Heroical Theology were laid, as has been all along ſaid, in the very Depths of Barbariſm, the Credenda in this Syſtem were for the moſt part ſuch, as could only paſs upon a rude and ignorant Generation; and were found liable to infinite Cavil and Exception, as Mankind improved in rational Thinking. The Traditions, for Example, received by the *Egyptians*, concerning the Birth and Genealogy of their antient Heroes—Their Courſe of Imployment through Life——the Particularities, and even ſometimes Defects, of their

Perſons *—Their Intrigues and Love-Adventures —Their Factions and mutual Violences—Above all, that moſt inhuman one committed by *Typhon* upon the Life of the Beneficent *Oſiris*—Theſe were all of them Accounts of things ſo little agreable to the Conceptions which more improved Reaſon taught the *Egyptians* to entertain of Divine Beings; ſuch glaring Diſproofs of all juſt Title to their Reverence in ſome of the chief preſcribed Objects of it; as muſt upon Examination have brought a thorow Diſgrace upon the whole Syſtem of their heroical Divinity, had not the Wiſdom of the Sacred Order, ever tenacious of eſtabliſhed Principles, found out an Expedient to ſcreen in all theſe Caſes the manifeſt Abſurdity of the *literal* Doctrine under the Pretext of an *allegorical* Interpretation. The Expedient was that of Phyſical *Mythology*: a Repreſenting the ſeveral Powers and Paſſions of external Nature under the Idea of ſo many conſcious Perſonages; to whom, when the Mythologiſts had given the Names of their ſeveral Deified Heroes, and placed them in ſutable Circumſtances of Relation to one another, they contrived in ſome meaſure to accommodate the intire Adven-

tures

* Ἱστορουσι γαρ Αιγυπτιοι τον μεν Ἑρμην τω σωματι γενεσθαι γαλιαζικωνα, τον δε Τυφωνα τη χροα πυρρον, λευκον δε τον Ὡρον, και μελαγχροον τον Οσιριν. Plut. de Iſ. & Oſ. p. 359.

tures of the Perſons whoſe Names they bore: in order that all exceptionable Occurrences in their heroic or Demon-Hiſtory might be capable of an innocent Explication into certain correſpondent Articles of natural *.

I ALWAYS thought (interrupted I) *Hortenſius*, the Powers and Paſſions of inanimate Nature had been firſt raiſed into conſcious Perſonality by the mere wanton Generoſity of Poets; and had received it as a voluntary Donation at the liberal hand of the Muſes, inſtead of being thus forced into it to ſerve a Turn in the Politics of an intriguing Hierarchy. But methinks, I want much to know how they ſuſtained the ſeveral Characters here aſſigned them; and with what Succeſs they acquitted themſelves in the different Provinces of the Heroic Hiſtory.

TRUST the *Egyptian* Prieſthood for this, (returned *Hortenſius*;) they had ſtudied the

 Buſineſs

* Τα μεν γεγονοτα πραγματα εξ αρχης απεπεμψαντο, αλληγοριας και μυθους επινοησαντες, και τοις κοσμικοις παθημασι συγγενειαν πλασαμενοι μυστηρια κατεστησαν. Ap. Euſeb. Præp. Evang. Lib. I. p. 32. Ταυτα παντα ὁ Θαβιωνος παις, πρωτος των απ' αιωνος γεγονοτων Φοινικων ἱεροφαντης, αλληγορησας, τοις τε φυσικοις και κοσμικοις παθεσιν αναμιξας, παρεδωκε τοις οργιωσι, και τελετων καταρχουσι προφηταις· οἱ δε, του τυφου αυξειν εκ παντος επινουντες, τοις αυτων διαδοχοις παρεδωσαν και τοις επεισακτοις. Ibid. p. 39.

Buſineſs of Analogies in things too much in other Subjects, not to be able to make ſomething of it in this, where their Craft was ſo deeply intereſted. What think you of reſolving the whole Hiſtory of *Typhon* and *Oſiris* into the ſucceſſive Stages of the Lunar Period? You perhaps, who are unuſed to Speculations of this kind, may not immediately diſcern the Parallel here; but the Mythologiſts are ready to warrant the juſtneſs of it to a Nicety. *Oſiris*, they will tell you, ſignifies the Orb of the Moon: and, whereas it is related of *Oſiris* in the Sacred Traditions that he lived, or as others will have it, reigned in *Egypt* twenty-eight Years, the Number of Years, ſay they, anſwers to that of the Days in which the Moon completes her Revolution round the Earth. If *Oſiris* reigned for ſome time in perfect Tranquility, the Affairs of his Government going on proſperouſly, and himſelf daily increaſing in Reputation, this, they may obſerve, is fully explaned by the Moon's receiving perpetual Acceſſions of Light during the firſt half of her Courſe. For the Faction headed by *Typhon* againſt this excellent Perſon, they will interpret it of that ſecret Cauſe in Nature which conſtantly diminiſhes the Moon's Luſtre after a certain Stage of her Progreſs. That *Oſiris* is ſaid to have been murdered by *Typhon* on the ſeventeenth Day of the Month,

they will account for by informing you, that the ſeventeenth Day of the Moon's Age is that on which her Decreaſe becomes firſt ſenſible to Sight *. The Report of the Diſcerpſion of *Oſiris*'s dead Body into fourteen Parts by his relentleſs Adverſary they will reſolve into the fourteen Days continuance of the Moon's monthly Wane. And, whereas *Typhon* is ſaid to have diſtributed a Part to each of his Accomplices in the Murder of *Oſiris*, they will explane this of each Day of the Moon's Wane taking away an equal Proportion of her Light. If ſome Traditions repreſented *Oſiris* to have been murdered not ſo much by Violence, as Stratagem, *Typhon* having, at an Entertainment to which he had ingaged him, firſt artfully inticed him into a Cheſt of the exact Meaſure of his Body, and then, by the Aſſiſtance of his Confederates, carried him out into the Sea; to this Relation, they will contend, exactly correſponds the hollowed Figure of the Moon's Orb previouſly to its total Diſappearance †. But, I dare ſay, you have full enough of this Matter.

MUCH more (ſaid I) than I expected could have been made of it at your firſt ſetting

* Ἑβδομῃ επι δεκα την Οσιριδος γενεσθαι τελευτην μυθολογουσιν, εν ᾗ μαλιστα γινεται πληρουμενη καταδηλος ἡ σαυσεληνος. Plut. de Iſ. & Oſ. p. 367.

† Plut. de Iſ. & Oſ. p. 367, 368.

ſetting out upon the Compariſon. Mythology, I perceive, was an excellent Defence againſt the Attacks of Pagan Sceptiſciſm. But pray what becomes of the widowed and diſconſolate *Iſis* in the Courſe of this Parallel? She had, doubtleſs, too much Concern in the original Hiſtory here, not to find a Correſpondent Part in the Fable. I will ſuppoſe therefore, that ſhe is one while the Earth regretting the dark and comfortleſs Condition of her Nights during the ſeeming Abſences of her Celeſtial Aſſociate; and another while the Operation of that friendly Power in Nature, by which the gradual Decays of the old Moon are conſtantly repaired every Month in the proportionable Increaſes of the new one.

I SEE (ſaid *Hortenſius*) you would ſoon come, *Philemon*, to be a very notable Mythologiſt. That you may have an Opportunity, if you think fit, of improving your Talent this way, I will leave it with you to imagine how the ſame Piece of Sacred Hiſtory in *Egypt*, which we have here only conſidered in its Accommodation to the Moon, may admit of different Explications into the Phænomena of Eclipſes — The riſings and ſettings of the Stars — The Viciſſitudes of Day and Night — The annual Courſe of the Sun — The ſeveral Accidents of the *Nile* — and the Oeconomy and Procedure

cedure of certain of the natural Fruits of the Earth *. —Not to mention here the abstract Conceptions of Drought and Moisture——or, the two contrasted Interests of Good and Evil in the Universe, about which so much, you will recollect, was discoursed upon a former Occasion——And, when you have well settled this Matter with yourself, I shall look upon you as fully prepared to descend with me from the Consideration of *False Theory*, into that of *False Practice* in Religion in the Pagan World—of which at some other Time.

* Εωρα γαρ τους τον Ἡλιον δημιουργον φαμενους, και τα περι τον Οσιριν και την Ισιν, και παντας τους ἱερατικους μυθους, η εις αστερας, και τας τουτων φανσεις, και κρυψεις, και επιτολας, ελιττομενους, η εις της Σεληνης αυξησεις και μειωσεις, η εις του Ἡλιου πορειαν, η το γε νυκτερινον ἡμισφαιριον, η το ἡμερινον, η τον γε ποταμον, και ὁλως παντα εις τα φυσικα· Ap. Euseb. Præp. Evang. Lib. 3. c. 4. Ὁυτω δε και τοις πολλοις και φορτικοις επιχειρησομεν, ειτα ταις καθ᾽ ὡραν μεταβολαις του περιεχοντος, ειτα ταις των καρπων γενεσεσι, και σποραις, και αροτοις χαιρουσι, τα περι τους θεους τουτους συνοικειουντες, και λεγοντες θαπτεσθαι μεν τον Οσιριν, οτε κρυπτεται της γης σπειρομενος ὁ καρπος, αυθις δε αναβιουσθαι, και αναφαινεσθαι, ὁτε Βλαστησεως αρχη· Plut. de Iside & Osiride, p. 377.

F I N I S.

Juſt Publiſhed,

Printed for M. STEEN, in *Inner-Temple Lane*;

FUTURE REWARDS and PUNISHMENTS believed by the *Ancients*, particularly the Philoſophers. Wherein ſome Objections of the Rev. Mr. *Warburton*, in his *Divine Legation* of *Moſes*, are conſidered. To which is added,

An ADDRESS to FREE-THINKERS.

——*Petit hinc, Juveneſque Seneſque*
Finem animo certum miſeriſque Viatica
Canis. Perſ. 5 Sat.

4 JU 62